

The University of Chicago

KARL GUTZKOW AS LITERARY
CRITIC, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS
ON THE PERIOD 1852-1862

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

1940

By
ELIZABETH McCONKEY

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the middle decades of the nineteenth century Gutzkow stood out among the literary critics of the time not only for amount and variety of material but also for vigor and dramatic intensity of treatment. From the time when he first began discussing books in 1829 until his death in 1878 his literary criticism was one of his vital interests and not infrequently the prevailing one.

In the early part of his career, while he was a prominent member of the young German group, Gutzkow's advocacy of its doctrines often found expression, more or less direct, through literary criticism. Since Harry Iben has discussed this period, 1830-40, fully in Karl Gutzkow als literarischer Kritiker. Die jungdeutsche Periode, a brief summary of Gutzkow's activity as critic during that time will be sufficient for my treatment of Gutzkow. This earlier period is primarily used to show how little the earlier and later periods vary, not only in basic traits but even in comparatively minor details.

Klemens Freiburg-Rüter in Der literarische Kritiker Karl Gutzkow. Eine Studie über Form, Gehalt und Wirkung seiner Kritik evidently intended to go into the problem of Gutzkow's literary criticism as a whole. He has, however, given greater attention to the time after 1840, using material chiefly from the 'forties. According to his own statement,¹ he has made a comparatively small

Beginning words of references will be frequently used to aid location of references.

¹Klemens Freiburg-Rüter, Der literarische Kritiker Karl Gutzkow; eine Studie über Form, Gehalt und Wirkung seiner Kritik (Leipzig, 1930), p. 133. Hereafter referred to as F.-Rüter.

"Aus der überreichen Fülle des Stoffes in den folgenden 10 Jahren wird die Zahl der kritischen Beiträge Legion—kann nur eine kleine Auslese getroffen werden, welche die zum Verständnis der Gegenwart so wichtige Literaturentwicklung des 19. Jahrhunderts unter dem Gesichtswinkel des Zeitgenossen sieht."

selection from the very great mass of material in the Unterhaltungen am Häuslichen Herd, edited by Gutzkow from 1852-63.

My treatment is concerned mainly with the period from 1852-63. Since Freiburg-Rüter has treated the 'forties exhaustively, only a brief summary of that period is needed. After 1862 Gutzkow's critical works are neither so numerous nor important as to require a very detailed discussion. From 1852 to 1862 the Unterhaltungen is the chief source of information, since this periodical affords so much hitherto unused material, by which to estimate the bases, standards, methods and results of Gutzkow's literary criticism during his mature period.¹ This is part of the period, when, according to Houben,² Gutzkow was working under exceptionally favorable conditions, social, financial and literary. The material from the magazine will necessarily be considered in connection with other critical works.

As editor of the Unterhaltungen Gutzkow assumed full responsibility for the views therein expressed, since he inspected all articles carefully. Any disagreement on his part was indicated in footnotes. Even when, with the passage of time, Gutzkow decreased the number of his varied contributions, he kept on with the book reviews contained in the section of the magazine called Anregungen. There has been no question by any of the commentators on Gutzkow as to the latter's authorship of these literary criticisms. There were very few exceptions where he quoted others or where the articles were signed by other writers. In the present discussion the Anregungen will be drawn upon for the major part, although articles in other sections will be used for support or amplification.

Freiburg-Rüter set up certain aesthetic distinctions and evaluated Gutzkow's criticisms in the light of these distinctions,

¹Ibid., p. 133. F.-Rüter discusses the Unterhaltungen.

"In diesem Rahmen nimmt auch die literarische Kritik wiederum ihren Platz ein, und der Wegfall des publizistischen Elementes gereicht ihr vorteilhaft zur kunsttheoretischen Vertiefung."

²Karl Gutzkow, Ausgewählte Werke, Vol. I, ed. H. Houben (12 vols.; Leipzig, 1908), p. 84. Hereafter referred to as Werke, Houben.

"In dieser seiner Dresdener Zeit erreichte er den Höhepunkt seines Wirkens; ... Die Dresdener Zeit ist die lichte, wenn auch nicht wolkenlose Höhe seines Lebens und seines Schaffens; ..."

using the personal and cultural background primarily and Gutzkow's works secondarily as a means to that evaluation. Iben discussed the personal and cultural background and then the works, in order to bring out the characteristics of Gutzkow's literary criticism. My discussion will start from Gutzkow's works and take up only such other material as may be needed to form a correct judgment of Gutzkow as a literary critic.

In brief then, I shall emphasize the period from 1852 to 1863 in this study of Gutzkow, using mostly the Unterhaltungen as source material. Since the other periods have been previously treated, or offer less material, I shall employ them only to show the continuity of Gutzkow's literary criticism. The discussion will be based on or start from Gutzkow's works.

CHAPTER II

EARLY PERIOD 1830-1840

Introduction

From 1830 until nearly 1840 Gutzkow was one of the leading Young Germany critics, advocating forcefully most of, though not all the doctrines commonly associated with that movement. Despite the shift of emphasis that the years brought, Gutzkow retained until the end of his career the essential views and characteristics which distinguished him as a literary critic during this early period.

A. General Criteria by Which Gutzkow Judged Books He Reviewed

In his Forum articles there is evident Gutzkow's fervent insistence on the necessity for a union of life and literature, with literature making manifest the right way of life. The reformatory element is very obvious and, in the emphasis laid on the political, social and religious phases, it sometimes outweighs the literary, as in the following passage:

Das aber ist auch die Aufgabe unserer Literatur geworden, dass sie ganz von diesem Geist einer neuen Zeit durchdrungen und sich dessen bewusst werde, dass sie eine Vorbereitung fürs Leben sein soll.¹

Another striking exposition of the need for literature is in an appeal to put community above individual interest.²

¹Gutzkow, "Wolfgang Menzel und die über ihn ergangenen Urtheile," Forum, I (1831), 54.

Cf. Ludolf Wienbarg, Aesthetische Feldzüge (Hamburg, 1834), p. 8.

"Das Gefühl des Schönen musz sich vor Allem erst durch das Leben befruchten und bilden, wenn es in Büchern und Hörsalen würdig dargestellt und ein wahrhaft integranter Teil der Philosophie werden soll."

²Gutzkow, "Emanation des Objekts aus dem Subjekt," Forum, I (1831), 5.

A more specific demand upon literature is contained in his requirement that "die Literatur muss Nationalinteresse werden, und ferner das Band ersetzen, das zerschnitten ist,"¹ a requirement which insists upon a union of national life and literature, assigning a leading position to literature.

Enthusiastic as Gutzkow may be about Menzel's literary ability,² the latter's advocacy of a close linking of life and literature³ and his attacks on the old and the traditional⁴ awake an even more fervent response in Gutzkow.⁵ Menzel, according to Gutzkow, was the first to say we must discard the artificial and go out into the world and nature.⁶ When Bach, a reviewer, condemns Menzel for starting in his history of literature from actual life and returning to it, instead of following a more traditional pattern,⁷ Gutzkow retaliates with a vehement attack on Bach as a philologist who has no right to discuss literature.⁸

In other early literary criticisms, published in Menzel's Literatur Blatt in 1832 and 1833, the political and social rather than literary trend is obvious, even though the two are associated. Gutzkow, in reviewing Steffen's work on religious experience and Baggesen's letters, criticises both adversely for not being in accord with their time. Although he pays unstinted tribute to

¹Ibid., p. 36.

Cf. Friedrich von der Leyen, Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung (München, 1920), pp. 120-21.

Friedrich von der Leyen in speaking of the art of the eighteenth century and Romanticism comments, "Nun schien die nächste Aufgabe, an der sich die jüngere Romantik schon versuchte, diese grosse Kunst auf deutschem Boden anzusiedeln und die Kräfte des deutschen Bodens in sie strömen zu lassen und die der deutschen Geschichte. Diese Aufgabe haben die Zeiten von 1830-1890 erkannt und auf vielen Gebieten gelöst: das ist ihr bester Ruhm."

²Gutzkow, "Wolfgang Menzel und die über ihn ergangenen Urtheile," Forum, I (1831), 58. Menzel, a genius, has restored poetry to its rightful place. "Während Diejenigen um uns her, ..."

Page 62, "Menzel's wahre Bedeutung für die Literatur ist schon in den Streckversen niedergelegt."

³Ibid., p. 60. ⁴Ibid., p. 51.

⁵Ibid., p. 106, "Menzel kämpft für Recht und Wahrheit, für Freiheit und den sogenannten Geist der neuen Zeit."

⁶Ibid., p. 57. ⁷Ibid., p. 76. ⁸Ibid., p. 80.

Steffen's fine portrayal of his mental and emotional experiences, Gutzkow shows by devoting the major part of the review to the religious and social problems, that he is really more interested in them than in the literary ones.¹

Baggesen's letters seem to Gutzkow to have only historical value but even at that, for him they hold more life and interest than Goethe's and Schiller's. Gutzkow's concern is obviously with Baggesen's reaction as a personality to questions of philosophy and conditions of the time and little attention is paid to the manner of such expression. In a very severe arraignment of Baggesen's lack of seriousness Gutzkow exhibits considerable bitterness with the author's failure to make his political views respected.²

Gutzkow begins his review of Kotzebue's biography³ with brief references to past events and to the advisability of not reviving distressing memories. It is obvious that Gutzkow alludes to Kotzebue's connection with government espionage and oppression. Even though this review contains more literary criticism than any of the preceding, the political note at the beginning is rather significant since that is where, as a rule, Gutzkow places his discussion of the dominant characteristic.

In the other reviews of these series the preponderance of political or social over literary interest is obvious. In one on Oxenstjerna,⁴ the chief aid of Gustavus Adolphus, Gutzkow discusses the conditions of that time at some length. One of the reviews in the theological series contains an analysis of the relation of the Reformation to the Catholic Church,⁵ the three stages of Christian religion; the hierarchical, Protestant and Catholic or universal. The only comment of literary nature is that the style is fitted to the subject matter.

In an article "Zur Wissenschaft vom Staate"⁶ written,

¹Gutzkow, "Wie ich wieder Lutheraner wurde, und was mir das Lutherthum ist. Eine Konfession von Heinrich Steffens," Literatur Blatt, No. 122 (1831), p. 122.

²Ibid., No. 20, pp. 77-81.

³Ibid., No. 21, p. 83.

⁴Ibid., No. 23, p. 90.

⁵Ibid., No. 59, p. 236.

⁶Gutzkow, Zur Geschichte unserer Zeit (Jena, 1875), pp. 1-40.

according to Gutzkow, in his twenties, he attempts to explain his conception of the state, the attendant evils and their remedies. In the course of his discussion he comments on the works of several writers, Weitzel, Adam Smith, Rousseau and others, and those sections are fully as much literary criticisms as what he published as such.

For material on Gutzkow's views as to the relation of literature and society however, the Briefe eines Narren an eine NÄrrin is the most interesting source in this early period. It was written with the political view point constantly in mind.¹ Naturally the style and, to some extent, the contents are extravagant and bizarre, for a fool is supposed to be writing. Gutzkow says himself that people like the serious in comic form.² His political views as well as his literary are bound up with the fervent wish to overthrow the old.³ He proclaims, "Ich bin ein Kind meiner Zeit."⁴ One of the clearest expressions of the benefit of a union of literature and politics is in his remark "Wir Deutsche würden mehr Verteidiger der politischen Freiheit aufweisen können, wenn sie mit unserer Kunst, Wissenschaft und Literatur inniger zusammen hänge."⁵ He is just as emphatic in his opposition to any subordination of art or religion to the state.⁶ He speaks of authors called "zum heiligen Schlüsselamt der Feder."⁷

A few years later, 1835, just as the storm of opposition to Young Germany was reaching its climax, we find the same idea.⁸

¹Werke, Houben, Vol. I, Preface p. 100. Menzel persuaded Gutzkow to change his original plan and he wrote, not a Novelle in letters, but a political satire, "Ursprünglich als Novelle in Briefen gedacht ..."

²Gutzkow, Briefe eines Narren an eine NÄrrin (Hamburg, 1832), p. 40. Hereafter referred to as Briefe e. N.
Ibid., p. 320, "Wer weise sein will, der werde ein Narr in dieser Welt."

³Ibid., p. 305, "Es wird aufgeräumt, alles Alte nicht nur an den alten Ort gestellt, sondern gänzlich weggeschafft werden."

⁴Ibid., p. 235.

⁵Ibid., p. 214.

⁶Ibid., subordination of art, p. 313; subordination of religion, p. 314.

⁷Ibid., p. 128.

⁸"Literatur, von Karl Gutzkow," Deutsche Revue, No. 132 of Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des XVIII und XIX Jahrhunderts,

A rather unusual view is presented in his work on Goethe in 1836, that literature has, up to this time, not been ready for a union with life.¹ Of course after the ban on his works and after his imprisonment, he is much more cautious in expressing his opinion but still attacks the government for not helping authors.² Again he insists that politics and Tendenz in writings do not detract from their literary value.³

In addition to his deep interest in the relationship of life and literature there is manifest some realization of the need for naturalness. Not as much attention is paid to it as in Gutzkow's later work, yet there is enough to indicate that Gutzkow is thoroughly in favor of what he considers natural material and form and opposed to anything artificial in either.⁴ In one review he waxes very sarcastic about Atterbom's Die Insel der Glückseligkeit.⁵ The material, that is, characters and situation is strained; of the form, a Sagenspiel, he professes entire ignorance. He characterizes the language as follows:

Die Sprache ist so prettißs, kostbar, dass man gar nicht weiss, wie man mit ihr umgehen soll, wie sie anfassen ohne mit den reinsten Händen sie zu beschmutzen, man musz treten, als tanzte man einen Eiertanz.⁶

Gutzkow criticises Duller for making some of the characters in a play talk theatrically.⁷ In a pessimistic comment, he contrasts German literature with French literature, which is really alive and produces some pleasant descriptions of daily life.⁸ He approves of the true and living or natural characters. He refers approvingly to Aristotle's definition of art as an imitation or

ed. by J. Dresch (Berlin, 1904), p. 36. Hereafter referred to as Deutsche Revue.

¹Gutzkow, Ueber Goethe im Wendepunkte zweier Jahrhunderte, Vol. IV of Gesammelte Werke (Frankfurt a. M., 1845-52), p. 210.

²Gutzkow, Götter, Helden, Don=Quixote (Hamburg, 1838), p. 266.

³Ibid., p. 212. Hereafter referred to as Götter, Helden, Don=Quixote. ⁴"Das Misstrauen gegen die Literatur ..."

⁵Ibid., p. 144. ⁶Forum, p. 58. ⁷Ibid., p. 135.

⁸Ibid., p. 136. ⁹Literaturblatt, No. 65, p. 259.

¹⁰Ibid., No. 15, p. 59.

amplification of nature.¹ One of his most scathing criticisms is an attack on the abnormality contained in A. Bronikowski's story Beate.² On the other hand if the horror arises naturally from the characters and situations as in Eugène Sue's Atar-Gull he approves heartily.³ The very plan of the Briefe eines Narren an eine Narrin shows a certain interest in the abnormal but Gutzkow is not enough in earnest about the rôle he adopts to make it a convincing one. He attacks vigorously the exalting of death at the expense of life as abnormal and reprehensible.⁴ A quotation from a much later review represents the same dislike of what he considers unnatural, "Ich glaube aber nicht, dass das, was unnatürlich und unwahr ist, jemals weiblich schön und moralisch sein kann."⁵

The natural quality referred to in the preceding paragraph does not mean literal realism. Gutzkow dislikes leere Alltäglichkeit thoroughly⁶ but he praises reality.⁷ For romanticism Gutzkow shows no respect, identifying it with the old he is so anxious to wreck. He is happy that the Germans are no longer so "Walter Scottish" as they used to be.⁸ However, there is still need of a Don Quixote to sweep away the past.⁹ In an article on Art written sometime later he attacks romanticism again. He admits there is some fine romanticism but still asserts disapprovingly, "Die Phantasie wird in der Schwärmerei gebrochen."¹⁰ In the same article he speaks of the Heidelberg school with its wreaths of flowers and its butterflies.¹¹

¹Ibid., p. 58.

²Ibid., No. 24, p. 91.

"Hier ist keine Anstrengung, keine List, keine Leidenschaft, nicht einmal Blut, hier ist nur bleicher, schwindender Tod, ermattender Pesthauch, die kalte ruhige Grausamkeit eines Ungeheuers. Ich bitte jeden Christenmenschen diesen niederträchtigen Roman ins Feuer zu werfen, ..."

³Ibid., No. 25, p. 99.

⁴Briefe e. N., p. 99.

⁵Götter, Helden, Don=Quixote, p. 142. A review of Rehfues' Die neue Medea.

⁶Briefe e. N., p. 202.

⁷Ibid., p. 129, "Und dies lebendige Eingreifen ..."

⁸Ibid., p. 39.

⁹Ibid., p. 213.

¹⁰Götter, Helden, Don=Quixote, p. 86.

¹¹Ibid., p. 92.

B. Specific Criteria Applied to Certain Literary Forms

In the Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin Gutzkow seems to identify poetry with romanticism. He mocks at the writers who, twenty years ago, thought they could sing as the poets did in olden days in Thuringia or at King Arthur's court.¹ At this time as later Gutzkow is not concerned about poetry in verse form. In an article on Mundt he insists that the question of prose or verse is unimportant. The point is whether the material is good and the work well done.² One of the Gutzkow's most enthusiastic criticisms is of Shelley whom he praises for not clinging to the ordinary. "Alles, was er sang, ging von einer hohen Idee aus; die Form erst schöpfte er aus der Natur, die ihn umgab."³ Eichendorff has the same virtue of drawing his material from nature. He suggests part of a picture and lets the reader complete it. What he gives is fresh and bright. Gutzkow adds that Eichendorff does suffer from the triviality of the romantic school.⁴ Gutzkow refers sarcastically to the Suabian school which wears a beggar's mantel that is sittig=religiös=poetisch but has no Prometheus, that is no divine frenzy.⁵ In brief, then, to Gutzkow the content is more important than the form and there may be poetry without verse. Romanticism is destructive of the finest poetry. Poetry should be close to nature but it must have exaltation, the divine fire, to be great poetry.

In contrast to poetry there is not much material for determining criteria for the Novelle. As yet Gutzkow had worked out no well defined theory of the Novelle. In one issue of the Literaturblatt in 1833 he attempts to define the difference between novel and Novelle. "Denn ist es wahr, dasz der Roman die

¹Briefe e. N., p. 223.

²Götter, Helden, Don=Quixote, p. 219.

³Ibid., p. 12.

⁴Gutzkow, Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur (Stuttgart, 1839), p. 319. Hereafter referred to as Beiträge.

"In dem Prinzip der romantischen Schule liegt ..."

⁵Ibid., p. 64, "Er [Goethe] hat recht, es ist ein sittig-religiös=poetischer Bettlermantel ..."

Begebenheiten mehr als Handlungen, die Novelle die Handlungen immer als Begebenheiten, die so selten von uns abhängen, schildert, so erkennt S _____¹ There is in this the idea of the occurrence or happening which seems beyond the characters' control, an idea appearing again in the Unterhaltungen.² In 1834 he published a volume of Novellen. In the preface he announces he has decided to be popular, write like others, invent short anecdotes, write Novellen. He has made the characters unusual, the plots exciting, the backgrounds new. He is paying attention to deminine ideals, virtue is ever triumphant.³ Gutzkow speaks of certain characteristics of the Italian Novellen, reflection, reserve of expression, monotony.⁴ He criticises Duller for lack of continuity in events, lack of ever-present goal, uniform gray coloring.⁵ A rather significant statement is one in an article on Shakespearean sources that the modern stories are close to the drama.

"Unsere modernen Erzählungen suchen in der möglichsten Annäherung an's Drama ihre höchste Aufgabe zu erreichen, jene alten Novellen tragen durchgängig den Charakter des Spischen."⁶ In a review of some of Tieck's Novellen Gutzkow condemns Tieck for beginning with no serious plan. Suddenly the action starts "durch einen unnatürlichen linkisch abgeschmackten Coup." Then for a time with more probable background and evidence of fine psychological insight the interest rises only to die again at

¹Literaturblatt, No. 18, p. 71.

²Gutzkow, "Roman, Novelle, Erzählung," Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd, I (1853), 799: "Die Novelle beruht ..."

Karl Gutzkow is the author of all the Unterhaltungen articles quoted. They will be referred to as follows: article, U. a. H., volume, and page. The Unterhaltungen has three sections:

	Neue Folge	Dritte Folge
Vol. I 1852-53	Vol. I 1855-56	Vol. I 1860-1861
Vol. II 1853-54	Vol. II 1856-57	Vol. II 1862
Vol. III 1854-55	Vol. III 1857-58	
	Vol. IV 1858-59	
	Vol. V 1859-60	

³Gutzkow, Novellen, Preface, p. xiv.

⁴Beiträge, I, 323. "Dieselbe Reflexion, dieselbe Keuschheit und Zurückhaltung des Ausdrucks, ..."

⁵Ibid., pp. 261-64.

⁶Literaturblatt, No. 21, p.80.

the last.¹ In addition to insisting on well drawn characters, a logical and smoothly worked out plot, and a fitting background, Gutzkow brings out one idea which recurs in later criticisms, the idea that the events must seem inevitable.

¹Deutsche Revue, pp. 22, 23. "Tieck's Eigensinn und Laune in der neuesten Urania beginnt ..."

CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD 1840-1852

A. General Criteria by Which Gutzkow Judged Books He Reviewed

In Harry Iben's Gutzkow als literarischer Kritiker the author has limited his discussion to the period ended by Gutzkow's assumption of the editorship of the Telegraph, 1837.¹ This section will start with Gutzkow's work as editor of the Telegraph and continue up to his establishment of Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd in October, 1852. A few articles from the Telegraph antedating 1840 will be used.

Gutzkow still feels that literature has a very exalted position and is necessarily bound up with the life of the time. In an article dealing with a copyright scheme he stresses the need for more respect for literature on the part of the government and for higher standards of art and conduct on the part of the authors.² In another article he expands the idea of the prevalence of poor work. The publishers are greatly to blame for not refusing work below a high standard.³ The magazines have not stood for the best.⁴ Gutzkow's belief in the vital importance of literature

¹Harry Iben, Karl Gutzkow als literarischer Kritiker, Die jungdeutsche Periode (Greifswald, 1928), p. 20.

"Hier soll uns nicht der Gutzkow beschäftigen, der scheinbar gefestigt in der Redaktion des Hamburger, 'Telegraph' nach fast einem Jahrzehnt heissen Ringens hoffen durfte, sich durchgekämpft zu haben, dessen Leben aber Kampf blieb."

²Gutzkow, "In Sachen des Nachdrucks," Vermittelungen. Kritiken und Charakteristiken, Vol. II, Vermischte Schriften (Leipzig, 1842), p. 13. Hereafter referred to as Ver. Schr., II. "... und die Literatur wird von den Regierungen und allen anderen öffentlichen Verhältnissen nicht hinlänglich geachtet, um dadurch in ihrer Stellung imposanter zu werden."

³Gutzkow, "Hitzig über die Existenz der Schriftsteller," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 27.

Gutzkow, "Über Preisherabsetzungen im Buchhandel," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 3-9.

⁴Ibid., p. 29.

finds expression in a very figurative statement at the last of the third article.

Die Intelligenz ist die Atmosphäre, in der wir leben; und die Literatur ist der Thau, den sie sanft und erquickend auf die pflanzen der sichtbaren gesellschaftlichen Ordnung niederträufelt.¹

In an enthusiastic review of some of Ph. J. von Rehfues' works Gutzkow, as on other occasions, diverges from criticism of Rehfues to a few general observations. Not even when he first became a representative of Young Germany did Gutzkow express more vigorously the idea of the supremacy of the artist who was in harmony with his time.²

This necessity for the author's being spiritually and mentally part of his age is basic with Gutzkow, even when the Young Germany period is definitely past. Though it is found in a political article, the following comment illustrates this attitude. "Zunächst denkt euch, dass der Staat nichts ist, was ausser euch lebt!"³

The following quotation from the Rehfues review brings out the idea just as clearly.

Der Mensch des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts ist mehr als jeder andere das Product der Umstände und seines Bildungsganges.⁴

Although in the article "Unsere Zeitgenossen" he stresses the

¹Ibid., p. 35.

²Gutzkow, "Ph. J. von Rehfues," Aus der Zeit und dem Leben (Leipzig, 1844), p. 404.

"Das Allgemeine hat die Herrschaft über das Individuum, und wol nur denen, die sich vom Allgemeinen als Dichter oder Künstler emancipiren, möchte es möglich sein, sich auf der Landkarte des Lebens zu zeichnen."

³Gutzkow, "Ansprache an die Berliner 1848," Zur Geschichte unserer Zeit, Vol. X of Gesammelte Werke (Jena, 1872-1876), p. 194.

Gutzkow, "Fr. Kollé, Betrachtungen über Diplomatie," Der Telegraph für Deutschland, No. 61 (1838), p. 482. Hereafter referred to as Telegraph.

"Herr Kollé versteht nicht nur die Sprache der neuen Zeit, sondern er redet sie zuweilen selber ... Er sucht den Diplomaten Achtung vor der Literatur einzuflößen; ..."

⁴Gutzkow, "Ph. J. von Rehfues," op. cit., p. 404.

power of the masses rather bitterly,¹ he still insists that any literary work in accord with the time is worth while, whether it is great art or not.² An even stronger expression of the same idea appears in the preface to the first volume of the 1845 edition of Gutzkow's works.³ In the preface to the first edition, 1852, of Die Ritter vom Geiste he says he does not care to address those who would follow after any trifle of the classic period rather than this century which they hate.⁴

In addition to being in accord with his time an author should give his work the appearance of naturalness. Gutzkow insists repeatedly that the Nebeneinander type of plot is more natural than the Nacheinander.⁵ In his reviews of short stories, novels or dramas the same point recurs. Although written in a rather mocking fashion his "Strickstrumpf-Kritiken" brings out that idea more than once.⁶ He commends Julius Mosen for the faithfulness to history and nature of many of the details in Der Con-

¹Gutzkow, "Unsere Zeitgenossen," Vor- und Nachmarzliches, Vol. IV, Vermischte Schriften (Leipzig, 1850), p. 205. Hereafter referred to as Ver. Schr., IV. "Die Masse sitzt zu Gericht ..."

²Ibid., p. 212:

"Ist nun also die Natur Ihres Unternehmens eine solche, dass Das, was heute in ihm behauptet wird, morgen schon wieder durch irgend eine Tatsache kann in Abrede gestellt werden, so wird es darum doch nicht minder ein Spiegel der Zeit sein, ein Unternehmen von sittlicher Bedeutung."

³Gutzkow, Preface to Gedichte, Vol. I, Gesammelte Werke (Frankfurt a. M., 1845), pp. 7-8. "Neben die grossen Vorbilder ..."

⁴Gutzkow, Preface, Die Ritter vom Geiste, I (1st ed.; Leipzig, 1850), 3. Hereafter referred to as Ritter v. G. "Es finden sich ihrer ..."

It may be indicative of a growing discouragement on Gutzkow's part that, after the second edition of 1852, the reprints of the first edition preface in the 1854, 1865 and 1869 editions change the original "allein mit diesen mag ich nicht reden" to "allein mit diesen mag ich und kann ich nicht reden."

⁵Ibid., p. 6, "Diese prächtigen Romane, mit ihrer classischen Unglaublichkeit!"

⁶Gutzkow, "Strickstrumpf-Kritiken," Ver. Schr. II (Leipzig, 1842), 117-18. Referring to Ludwig Freil's Novellen: "alle aus dem wirklichen Leben."

Page 118, L. Kruse's Eine geniale Frau appeals because of its naturalness.

gress von Verona.¹ Gutzkow praises Rehfuës for creating such natural characters.² The term natural, as Gutzkow uses it, excludes the detailed, photographic presentation of background, plot or characters.³ It excludes very decidedly any dwelling on the abnormal or immoral. It excludes a romantic treatment. Gutzkow's objection to a too literal treatment comes out definitely in his objection to H. König's William's Dichten und Trachten. König makes his readers feel that many scenes are so factual that they have little artistic interest.⁴ Frederike Bremer keeps too closely to a very uninspiring kind of life, even though it may be a very comforting one.⁵ Gutzkow's most vigorous attacks however are made against the detailed treatment of the immoral, morbid and abnormal as in the works of Sternberg, Hebbel, E. Willkomm and Fr. Clemens. Gutzkow calls Sternberg's emphasis on immoral scenes and characters wearying, Sternberg himself frivolous.⁶ He criticises sharply the morbid elements in F. Hebbel's Judith und Holofernes and Genoveva.⁷ He declares the real purpose of his criticism of

¹Gutzkow, "Ein diplomatischer Roman," Mosaik. Novellen und Skizzen, Vol. III, Vermischte Schriften (Leipzig, 1842), p. 216. Hereafter referred to as Ver. Schr., III.

"Mit Benutzung des bekannten Werkes ..."

²Gutzkow, "Ph. J. von Rehfuës," op. cit., p. 406.

³Gutzkow, "Zur Bühnenreform," Ver. Schr., IV (Leipzig, 1842), 125. "Unter keiner Form des Staatslebens können sich die ewigen Gesetze der Wahrheit und der Schönheit ändern. Wie diese schon längst mit himmlischen Flügeln über die gemeine Wirklichkeit dieser nur zu unwahr und zu unschön zusammengesetzten Gesellschaft sich aufgeschwungen haben, so hat die Wirklichkeit nur die Aufgabe, ihnen nachzukommen, nur ihnen ähnlich zu werden."

⁴Gutzkow, "H. König's, William's Dichten und Trachten," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 123. "Sein Roman gründet sich auf Studien ..."

⁵Gutzkow, "Abhängigkeit vom Auslande," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 43. "Frederike Bremer, die Verfasserin, der Tochter des Präsidenten, 'der Alltagsgeschichten.'"

⁶Gutzkow, "Psyche von A. v. Sternberg," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 134. "Ich will ja, da ich bekanntlich ..."
Page 135, "Das warme, edle, menschliche Gefühl schlägt nie mit einer nur etwas sichtbaren Flamme aus seinen Menschen und Situationen heraus; so dass man ihn, nächst Tieck vielleicht den frivolsten jetzt lebenden deutschen Schriftsteller nennen musz."

⁷Gutzkow, "Judith und Holofernes, 'Genoveva,'" Werke Auswahl in 12 Teilen, ed. by R. Gensel, I (Berlin, 1910), 102. Hereafter referred to as Werke, Gensel.

Willkomm and Clemens is to show that such writers are not typical of Young Germany.¹ He denounces both strongly for their use of the morbid and abnormal. Graue Gestalten, krankhafte Phantasie, diese losgelasene Hölle, are a few of the words used.² A rather common type of sentence is: "und die Kritik erklärt mit Bedauern, dasz dies Ungethüm nicht einmal den Spiritus und eine Stelle im anatomischen Museum verlohnt."³ Fr. Clemens' Bei Nacht und Nebel is worse than Willkomm's book in several respects but chiefly in its gruesome content. In Gutzkow's eyes if Clemens had presented evil as evil, he would not have been so reprehensible, but his linking of the ideal or religious with such Marquis de Sade material is unpardonable.⁴ Gutzkow indicates his own attitude in the word: "Willst du gross sein, so sei stolz; und stolz ist man nur, wenn man für Vieles blind ist."⁵ While Gutzkow can speak kindly of romanticism, as in the article just mentioned,⁶ one comment on romanticism's use of the past, artificially glorified, to avoid a supposedly bad present, embodies his chief objections.⁷

B. Specific Criteria Applied to Certain Literary Forms

While Gutzkow can appreciate poetry as he can romanticism, he is only too ready to spring to the defense of both prose and realism, that is, his kind of realism. When Daumer versifies Bettina von Arnim's letters, Gutzkow protests vigorously. Poetry will not express Bettina so well as her musical prose. "Warum soll die Blüthenkrone der Prosa, das Höchste in der Prosa, etwas allerdings Gefälligeres, aber Eingeschnürtes und Beiläufiges in der Poesie werden?" Again in the same review: "Warum soll der Stylist nicht in seiner Art alle lyrischen Dichter übertreffen und bessere Gedichte in sich haben, als die, die Verse machen,

¹Gutzkow, "Verirrungen," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 113. "Die Absicht dieses Artikels ..."

²Ibid., p. 97.

³Ibid., p. 101.

⁴Ibid., p. 109.

⁵Ibid., p. 112.

⁶Ibid., p. 103. "Unsere Romantiker, unsre Arnim und Brentano, wie oft faseln sie und wie liebenswürdig sind sie immer!"

⁷Gutzkow, "Zur Bühnenreform," op. cit., p. 127.

aber keine schöne Prosa schreiben können!"¹ The vigor of his defense of prose as against poetry may be accounted for, at least partially, by his identification now as earlier of prose with Young Germany and of verse with the older periods. Poetry is not gitted to the new political and social movements.² When not thus biased, Gutzkow can speak of poetry with real enthusiasm. Poetry is essentially a matter of true and deep feeling. G. Schwab's poems, in an almanac, do not show it and so are adversely criticised.³ Depth of feeling excuses many flaws as in the case of Wesenberg.⁴ Lack of sincerity and courage are fatal.⁵ Not only is genuine emotion needed but its effect is not to be lessened by anything else that may be added.

"'Die Verjähmung' von J. G. Seidel ist ein schöner, dichterischer Gedanke, der leider verstandesmäßig ('Wie - also') ausgeführt ist."⁶ The subject matter should be worthy of poetical treatment, not such a one as horses.⁷ A poem should have something unusual or significant about it and not be just a string of

¹Gutzkow, "Bettina," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 90. Though Gutzkow is clear in the above as to what a Dichter or poet is, i.e., one writing in verse form, he often uses the word in a broader sense. In a review of a book by Rosenkranz, Ver. Schr., II, 254, on psychology, Gutzkow asserts: "Auch darin liegt etwas von der rechten Popularität, welche Rosenkranz's Schriften auszeichnet, dass er ein Dichter ist—nicht Dichter in dem Sinne, wie Rückert und Uhland; sondern Dichternatur, innerer, gestaltender Dichter, Dichterverwandtschaft, gerade in dem Sinne, wie es so schmerzhaft ist, dass Gervinus in seiner Literaturgeschichte trocken und blasz sagen kann: 'Ich bin kein Dichter.' Wahrlich das sollte Niemand sagen, der etwas Höheres erstrebt. Dichter sind wir alle, wenn wir den Lockungen des Genius folgen, wenn wir auch nicht Beiträge in den Musenalmanach schicken."

²Cf. F.-Räter, op. cit., p. 38. "Wienberg spricht bereits eine Fülle von Gedanken aus, für die Gutzkow sich einsetzt, z. B. den, dass die Prosa der künstlerische Ausdruck des neuen literarischen Willens sei."

³Gutzkow, "Der Musenalmanach auf 1839," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 187. "Den beiden Gedichten ..."

⁴Ibid., p. 179.

⁵Gutzkow, "Der Musenalmanach auf 1841," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 186. "Dieser Hoffmann von Fallersleben ..."

⁶Gutzkow, "Der Musenalmanach auf 1839," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 179. "F. Gruppe tritt weit dichterischer auf, als man dem in ihm überwiegenden Verstande zutrauen möchte,"

⁷Gutzkow, "Der Musenalmanach auf 1841," op. cit., p. 187. "Graf Alexander von Württemberg sieht sich ..."

verses.¹ Poems on Napoleon were commended as fitted to their time.² One of Gutzkow's warmest tributes is to Annette von Droste-Hülshoff as Ein herrliches episches Talent. He praises her poetry for its drawing, coloring, light and shadow, but regrets that Der Geyerpfiff does not have more worth while material.³ He appreciates the creative, formative and plastic talents of Lenau, but criticises him adversely for not distinguishing between epic, lyric and drama.⁴ While the form of the poetry does not receive much attention, there are a few comments such as that, in Lenau's "Savonarola," the lines are entirely too short considering the material used. The rhythm with its galloping effect is monotonous because there is no change in it.⁵ Julius Mosen's "Abasver" in Gutzkow's opinion is wordy, bombastic, the figures of speech pretentious and inappropriate. Almost every song begins with a long and vague comparison and thus seems affected. Modern poets cannot write as Homer wrote. Mosen's poetry moves too heavily and at times almost becomes prose.⁶ Gutzkow's attitude toward the relative importance of content and form is well expressed in this sentence: "Ich kann jedoch nicht sagen, dass ich an Gedichten, deren Idee mir verfehlt scheint, selbst bei sonstigen Schönheiten grosse Freude habe."⁷

In summing up this discussion the first important point is Gutzkow's warning against ranking poetry, i.e., the versified kind, above prose, or trying to substitute it for the latter. Poetry is primarily a matter of emotion. It is no finer or more

¹Ibid., p. 180. "Kein bedeutendes Bild, ..."
Page 180, "Die versifizierte Darstellung ..."

²Ibid., p. 181. "Die Epigramme auf Napoleon ..."

³Ibid., p. 190. "Der Geyerpfiff ..."

⁴Gutzkow, "An Uffo Horn in Wien," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 147. "Ich habe, ..."
"Ich glaube, dass auch ..."

⁵Ibid., p. 149. "Ja, für die ungeheure Idee ..."

⁶Gutzkow, "Julius Mosen's Abasver," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 167-68. "Dazu kommt ..."

⁷Ibid., p. 167.

artistic than prose and it is incapable of meeting all the varied demands of the new age as well as the latter does. The poet should select a subject appropriate to poetical treatment, should feel deeply and sincerely about it, should be able to give it form, plasticity and smoothness. Metre and figures of speech should be in harmony with the subject. Distinctions between drama, epic and lyric should be kept in mind.

The short story receives little attention during this period in comparison with poetry. In the "Strickstrumpf-Kritiken" there are a few comments in a review of National-Bilder, darges-tellt in Novellen und Erzählungen by Ludwig Frei. The stories are from real life, some a little crude, others a little frivolous, but they have a moral conclusion and so are all right.¹ It sounds as though Gutzkow were ridiculing the patrons of the loan libraries. In a review of H. König's Literarische Bilder aus Russland Gutzkow declares one biography has einen novellistischen Anstrich.² The imaginative has for Gutzkow a higher value than the close account of daily life. While Gutzkow considers Dingelstedt's Räthsel der Liebe a finely written novel he disapproves of the idea of brother and sister falling in love with one another as unpoetical because unnatural and fabulous. He also disapproves of the heroine's devotion to George Sand. Literary material is out of place in such a novel.³

There is considerably more material on the novel than on the story during this period. Since the general criteria, such as relationship of life and literature, naturalness and romanticism, have already been discussed,⁴ the criteria applied particularly to the novel will be taken up in this section. If Gutzkow is interested in a book to any extent, he reacts strongly to the author's attitude toward his work. This is especially evident in his criticisms of novels. In a criticism of Sternberg's Psyche

¹Gutzkow, "Strickstrumpf-Kritiken," op. cit., p. 117.

"Glauben Sie mir, fiel die Tante ein, das Buch ist charmant ..."

²Ibid., pp. 52-53. "Die Biographie einiger ..."

³Gutzkow, "Dingelstedt's Frauenspiegel," Der Telegraph für Deutschland, No. 88 (1838), pp. 702-04.

⁴Cf. Chap. III, A.

Gutzkow speaks bitterly of the latter's heartlessness and frivolity.¹ In a tribute to Rehfues he emphasizes that author's rich experience and artistic nature.² The preface to the first edition of Die Ritter vom Geiste contains Gutzkow's declaration of his desire to teach something, his lack of interest in strictly entertaining literature, and then, "... wo dem Schöpfer nicht wohl wurde bei einem Werke, da kann's dem Beschauer ewig nur weh sein."³ Gutzkow advises Willkomm not to sow his wild oats with the idea of profiting poetically hereby.⁴ He urges Clemens not to be so conceited.⁵ When personality meant as much to any one as it did to Gutzkow, it is not surprising that he is, if anything, unusually sensitive to the author's emotional and mental equipment for writing and to his attitude toward his public.

Naturally enough Gutzkow pays more attention to the background in historical novels than in others. He praises the beginning of Mosen's Der Congress von Verona for its truthful and vivid presentation of scene and people, and also the sustaining of this high standard throughout the novel.⁶ In Williams Dichten und Trachten by H. König he criticises König for being so pain-

¹Gutzkow, "Psyche von A. von Sternberg," op. cit., p. 135.

"Ich finde, dass Herr von Sternberg ohne Herz ist. Das warme, edle, menschliche Gefühl schlägt nie ..."

²Gutzkow, "Ph. J. von Rehfues," op. cit., p. 401.

"Er besasz für das Leben wie für die Kunst ein unsichtiges, scharfblickendes ..."

Cf. Hermann Mielke, Der Deutsche Roman des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts (Dresden, 1913), p. 97. "An Bildung überlegen war seiner [Rehfues] Erfindungsgabe ..."

³Gutzkow, Ritter v. G., I, 4. "Und erzählt' ich Dir das sinnigste und Arabiens ..."

⁴Gutzkow, "Verirrungen," op. cit., p. 105.

"Denn zwing' er sich ... ; er ist wahrlich nicht Dichter genug, um ohne Schaden ein Sklave seiner Sinne zu werden."

⁵Ibid., p. 111.

"Man muss bei seinen Büchern ... Man muss, wenn man mit sich zufrieden ist, nicht schreiben; Was war dies? und ..."

⁶Gutzkow, "Ein diplomatischer Roman," op. cit., pp. 214-16.

Page 214: "Die Anlage lässt nichts zu wünschen übrig ..."

Page 215: "Mit Benutzung des bekannten Werkes ... hat der Verfasser die Staffage seines Gemäldes geschichtsund naturtreu ausgeführt."

fully accurate in historical details that he decreases the living quality of his novel. The reader is too conscious of history as such.¹ In other kinds of novels the objections to the background depend on such characteristics as naturalness or romanticism. These characteristics have already been discussed, so a brief mention here will suffice.² Gutzkow objects strenuously to the snobbery and artificiality of the background in Psyche by Sternberg.³ There is no question as to Gutzkow's enthusiasm for the contemporary background, broad enough to include all society.⁴

The characters should be life-like, and, if in an historical novel, true to the period in which they are placed. However, superficial accuracy is no palliative when characters are essentially improbable as Shakespeare in Williams Trachten by H. König.⁵ In an article on Rehfuës, Gutzkow commends the attractive and naturwahre characters in the novel Scipio Cicala.⁶ He attacks energetically the characters in Die Europamäden. Some are possible in real life but poetically false and unnatural. Some insane ones are not well drawn, they might have belonged to the romantic period. Others, such as the Pietists in Köln,⁷ do not fit into

¹Gutzkow, "H. König's Williams Dichten und Trachten," op. cit., pp. 123-30.

²See pp. 14-18.

³Gutzkow, "Psyche von A. von Sternberg," op. cit., p. 135.
 "Auch das Beleidigende, welches für mein Gefühl in der unbedingt immer nur vornehmen Sphäre der Sternberg'schen Novellistik liegt, mag wohl nicht jeder nachempfinden."

While Gutzkow uses Novellistik here he classifies Psyche as a novel. The above obviously applies to Psyche.

⁴Gutzkow, Ritter v. G., I, 8.

"Kein Abschnitt des Lebens mehr, der ganze, runde, volle Kreis liegt vor uns; der Dichter haut eine Welt und stellt seine Beleuchtung der der Wirklichkeit gegenüber."

⁵Gutzkow, "H. König's Williams Dichten und Trachten," op. cit., p. 124.

⁶Gutzkow, "Ph. J. von Rehfuës," op. cit., p. 406.

⁷Gutzkow, "Verirrungen," op. cit., pp. 103-05.

"Die Idee, dass vorzugsweise ein Jude Christen zur Un-sittlichkeit verführt, kann wo passieren, ist aber poetisch unwahr und unnatürlich; ..."

their environment. The combination of depraved characters and high aspirations in Clemens' Bei Nacht und Nebel is deplorable.¹

Gutzkow approves of the smooth action in Rehfuës' Scipio Cicala.² Die Europamäden, he maintains, has no development of plot.³ By far the most significant discussion of plot during this period is by Gutzkow in the preface to the first edition of Die Ritter vom Geiste.⁴ Here Gutzkow explains the purpose of the novel and the plot structure. Instead of events following one another in time order, they will be presented as occurring simultaneously whenever they do so occur in real life; i.e., the Nebeneinander type. The reader will see a cross section of life. A fuller explanation is given in the preface to the 1854 edition and in the Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd.⁵

Gutzkow comments, rather briefly, in a few reviews on style. He likes the epic calm of style and the happily phrased dialogue of Scipio Cicala.⁶ Sternberg's style in Psyche he considers not as fine as in that author's former works.⁷ He condemns Willkomm's style in Die Europamäden relentlessly. "In dieser aus Schwulst und Gefühlsbeleidigung zusammengekeilten Sprache ist das ganze Buch geschrieben."⁸ Gutzkow rather grudgingly admits that there are a few good pieces of writing in Clemens' Bei Nacht und Nebel, but mostly regards the style with no more favor than he does plot or characters. There is nothing fresh or original about it; the phrasing is platt; the characters do not go away,

¹Ibid., p. 109. "Marquis de Sade wird immer ..."

²Gutzkow, "Ph. J. von Rehfuës," op. cit., p. 406.

³Gutzkow, "Verirrungen," op. cit., p. 99.

⁴Gutzkow, Ritter v. G., pp. 6-7.

"Der neue Roman ist der Roman des Nebeneinanders. Da liegt die ganze Welt!"

⁵Gutzkow, "Vom deutschen Parnasz," U. a. H., II, 286-88.

⁶Gutzkow, "Ph. J. von Rehfuës," op. cit., p. 406.

⁷Gutzkow, "Psyche von A. von Sternberg," op. cit., p. 135.

⁸Gutzkow, "Verirrungen," op. cit., pp. 99, 102.

"Besäße Willkomm Poesie, so würde nicht jede Zeile, die er schreibt, so ungeheure lange Beine machen."

they segelten ab;einigermassen is a poor word. The language is entirely too colloquial for a book of this type.¹

On the whole this period affords little light on Gutzkow's idea of the novel. One interesting feature of his treatment of the novel is his insistence on the author's having adequate knowledge and experience, being sincere and in earnest about his work, and being himself convinced that his book is worth while. The background of an historical novel should be accurate as to its period, and in no background should there be evidence of snobbishness, artificiality or narrowness. Gutzkow insists that characters be true to their period, either past or present; that they be natural as he interprets that word, i.e., not exact copies of every day types but pictured by an artist. Abnormality is abhorrent. The plot should develop smoothly and preferably be of the Nebeneinander rather than of the Nacheinander type. Gutzkow urges a natural, correct and dignified style.

Since Gutzkow wrote most of his plays during this period his comments on the drama should have especial value. One such comment about tragedy requires a play to be probable, life-like, to sustain interest.² He makes one statement of dramatic theory in the preface to Liesli. "Die Theorie verlangt in der Tragödie den feindlichen Zusammenstoss zweier gleichberechtigten sittlichen Prinzipie."³ Then Gutzkow goes on to explain that an unexpected occurrence should break into the course of the action. If the conclusion is merely the summing up of two premises, only a dramatized chronicle results. The third element, the one causing the conflict, must have been implicit in the plot from the first.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 108.

²Gutzkow, "V. Hugo's Ruy Blas," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 60. "Was wir immer gewusst haben ..."

³Gutzkow, Preface, Liesli (Leipzig), p. 8.

⁴Ibid., p. 14.

"Erst durch das incidirende Dritte, wie in einer chemischen Mischung, braust die dramatische Wirkung auf, nur musz dies Dritte schon nothwendig im Beginne 'angelegt' gewesen sein."

Cf. Carl Weitbrecht, Das deutsche Drama (1903), p. 37.

"Dagegen, sowie den beiden Liebenden ein Dritter sich entgegenstellt, oder mehrere, oder eine Macht ... dann sind dramatische Spiele möglich."

In a criticism of Hugo's Ruy Blas Gutzkow discusses the drama, act by act. The first two acts form a fine exposition, clear and vivid.¹ The third contains the unfortunate change in Ruy Blas himself. The fourth act is a comedy and does not belong in the play.² "Der fünfte Akt ist nichts als das Facit der vier andern, ... es kommt kein neuer Impuls zur Handlung, kein plötzliches Motiv, das dem Stücke, wie es sein musz, seinen jähren und bei aller Vorbereitung doch unerwarteten Abschluss giebt."³ In the criticism of Immermann's Ghismonda Gutzkow objects emphatically to the weak fifth act.⁴ He lists Zweck, Ziel among the important elements of a drama in a discussion of Klein's Maria von Medicis.⁵ The first act of Hebbel's Judith und Holofernes he considers exciting and the second pleasing. The folk scenes in the third act enliven the rather dragging action. The fourth act brings out the basic fault of the play, too much reflecting and theorizing by the characters.⁶ The fifth act has very tense moments and the action rises to a dizzying height when Hebbel breaks the illusion of the play by Judith's announcement of her intention to kill Holofernes.⁷ Gutzkow considers the act incomplete since there is no Nemesis for Judith's act. He sums up his objection to Hebbel's Genoveva briefly: "Der Schluszeindruck ist unerquicklich und leer. Unbefriedigt frägt man sich: Was soll das Ganze?"⁸ Judging from these criticisms it would seem evident that Gutzkow has a fairly clear conception of building up the action through the involvement point in the third act to the catastrophe in the fifth act rather than letting the action fall after the third act. Gutzkow's

¹Gutzkow, "V. Hugo's Ruy Blas," op. cit., p. 67.

²Ibid., p. 68.

³Ibid.

⁴Gutzkow, "Immermann's Ghismonda," op. cit., p. 207.

"Die Empörung im fünften Akt war zu matt angelegt, ..."

⁵Gutzkow, "Ein historisches Drama," op. cit., p. 212.

⁶Gutzkow, "Judith und Holofernes," op. cit., p. 105. "Der erste Akt spannte; ..."

⁷Ibid., p. 106. "Die Auflösung kann nicht befriedigen."

⁸Gutzkow, "Genoveva," op. cit., p. 110.

theory accords with the modern interpretation of the Zieldrama.¹ Two other comments on plot have to do with the proper placing of the various scenes and avoidance of stereotyped scene endings, such as monologues.²

The characters in a drama should develop. Gutzkow stresses this point in reviewing Immermann's Ghismonda, Klein's Maria von Medicis, Hugo's Ruy Blas.³ He insists on vivid, definite characterization. He reproaches Klein for making the characters in Maria von Medicis mere aids to the ideas the author wanted to convey.⁴ The most interesting expression of this insistence on vivid characterization is Gutzkow's comment that not one of the characters in Ruy Blas lives on after the play itself is finished.⁵ He dislikes extremely ignoble characters, especially in tragedy. "... denn Bedientenseelen sind nur in der Posse erträglich oder in der Tragödie dann, wenn sie in Hofmarschällen und Ministern stecken. Ruy Blas ist aber auch nicht das Volk."⁶ Gutzkow represents Ruy Blas being considered typical of the common people. He maintains that not only should the hero be noble but also: "das z

¹F.-Rüter, op. cit., p. 126. F.-Rüter credits Gutzkow with having only a vague idea of the modern Zieldrama. F.-Rüter however quotes from only one criticism, that of Ruy Blas. For definition of modern Zieldrama see Merker-Stammler, Real Lexikon, I (Berlin, 1826-26), 214. List of acts: 1. "Ausgangspunkt," 2. "erster audeutender Durchblick auf ein Handlungszwischenziel," 3. "klarer Ausblick," 4. "vorübergehende Siebentziehung des Handlungszieles," 5. "Handlungsziel (Katastrophe ...)."

²Gutzkow, "Immermann's Ghismonda," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 204. "Wenn man Einwendungen machen will, so müssten sie ..."

Gutzkow, "An Uffo Horn in Wien," op. cit., p. 147. "Für das Drama haben ..."

Gutzkow, "Ein historisches Drama," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 212.

³Gutzkow, "Immermann's Ghismonda," op. cit., p. 205.

Gutzkow, "Ein historisches Drama," op. cit., p. 212.

Gutzkow, "V. Hugo's Ruy Blas," op. cit., p. 66.

⁴Gutzkow, "Ein historisches Drama," op. cit., p. 212.

⁵Gutzkow, "V. Hugo's Ruy Blas," op. cit., p. 66.
"Keiner dieser Charaktere überlebt den Zweck ..."

⁶Ibid., p. 62.

der Held seines sittlichen Zweckes bewusst sein musz, ist unzweifelhaft."¹ He criticises Immermann sharply for not sufficiently motivating the heroine's renunciation in Ghismonda.² Gutzkow considers Hugo wrong in having his hero fall through another's action rather than his own.³ In the case of Hebbel's Judith the patriotic, religious motive should have been kept to justify her deed.⁴ In Hebbel's drama Genoveva the heroine is not really the leading character.

An Golo verschwendet er [Hebbel] alle Vorliebe, an Golo die ganze Stufenfolge dramatischer Entwicklung. Golo wird etwas in diesem Stücke, Genoveva ist nur etwas und darin liegt der Fehler des Ganzen.⁵

Needless to say Gutzkow objects to abnormal or morbid traits as in the case of characters in Hebbel's plays, Judith und Holofernes and Genoveva.⁶

¹Gutzkow, "Ein historisches Drama," op. cit., p. 215.

Gutzkow, "Immermann's Ghismonda," op. cit., p. 207. "Nein, diese letzte Wendung ..."

F.-Rüter, p. 47. F.-Rüter draws attention to a similar passage from Schiller's Über das Vergnügen an tragischen Gegenständen.

²Gutzkow, "Immermann's Ghismonda," op. cit., p. 206.

"Sie hat aber auch nur deshalb ..."

³Gutzkow, "V. Hugo's Ruy Blas," op. cit., p. 69. "Er Ruy Blas! musz durch sich selbst fallen, er musz durch seine Ueberhebung fallen, nur so war er Held eines kunst- und naturgemäszten Dramas. ... so waren alle Dramen, die seit Sophokles sich mit dem Schicksal eines Individuums beschäftigen."

F.-Rüter, p. 47. F.-Rüter attributes Gutzkow's emphasis on nobility of character to Schiller's influence. "Man braucht nur einen Blick in Schillers Abhandlung 'Über das Vergnügen an tragischen Gegenständen' zu tun, um den hier vertretenen Standpunkt vorgezeichnet zu finden."

⁴Gutzkow, "Judith und Holofernes," op. cit., p. 102.

"Indessen—selbst diese Charakterzeichnung wäre nicht nötig gewesen, ..."

⁵Gutzkow, "Genoveva," op. cit., p. 111.

⁶Gutzkow, "Judith und Holofernes," op. cit., p. 102.

"Judith, von der Glorie des Fanatismus ..."

Gutzkow, "Genoveva," op. cit., p. 111. "Seine Figuren sind fast überwiegend Inquisiten, die der Verfasser auf Verbrechen, Gelüsten, Neigungen zu ertappen sucht."

Cf. Bieber, Der Kampf um die Tradition (Stuttgart, 1928), p. 292. "In der Gestaltung der Judith und des Holofernes steigert er [Hebbel] die Kraft des Fühlens und Vorstellens bis ins Pathologische, das bei Judith Ergebnis des verfeinerten Spürsinn ist, bei Holofernes die Grenze der Verzerrung streift."

This discussion has been based on tragedy since that is the form to which Gutzkow devotes so much of his criticism. However, with the exception of tragic guilt, the points treated would apply also to comedy. The mixture of the comic and the tragic receive some attention in articles on stage production. He wrote one article on the correct staging of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet. One change in the order of the scenes which he suggests is to put more time between the comic and tragic effects.¹ Gutzkow criticises Hugo sharply for bringing the exalted portions of Ruy Blas too close to the comic.² Another kind of play in which Gutzkow shows considerable interest is the historical. The most complete discussion of that type is in the introduction to Wullenweber. In this preface he praises Schiller for being able to retain both historical significance and human interest; for giving a picture of a whole period. In view of Gutzkow's early and constant espousal of Tendenz his statement about it here is particularly interesting. He explains that Tendenz, while aesthetically justifiable, has harmed the historical drama through its distortion of facts.

Der wahre Feind des wirklichen Gedeihens der ächten historischen Muse ist aber die Tendenz. Diese, aus Deutschland's unfreien Zuständen geboren, findet literargeschichtlich in ihrem Wirken sicher einst ihre ästhetische Berechtigung; aber dem historischen Drama ... ist sie so wenig nützlich gewesen, dass sie eher die Gleichgültigkeit und Abspannung für dieses Genre als die Empfänglichkeit beförderte.³

Gutzkow advises using poetry in historical plays of the older periods and prose for the modern material. In general he believes the form depends on the subject.⁴ He comments on the prächtige Satzengewänder of some of the characters in Judith

¹Gutzkow, "Über die bühnengerechte Darstellung von Shakespeare's Romeo und Juliet," Ver. Schr., IV (Leipzig, 1850), 95.

²Gutzkow, "V. Hugo's Ruy Blas," op. cit., p. 55.
"Das Erhabene in diesem Stücke, ..."

³Gutzkow, Preface, Wullenweber (Leipzig, 1848), pp. 6, 7, and 13.

⁴F.-Rüter, op. cit., p. 48. F.-Rüter discusses Gutzkow's views about the use of poetry in drama: "Ein festgeführter Grundsatz ist der, dass poetische Form und Gestaltung vom Stoff bedingt seien."

F.-Rüter quotes Gutzkow's answer to Marggraff's question as to whether prose or poetry should be used in a drama: "Das hängt vom Sujet ab."

und Holofernes.¹ One of Gutzkow's severest criticisms of an author's language is his attack on Klein's style in Maria von Medici. After conceding wit to Klein, Gutzkow continues: "Aber er handhabt die deutsche Sprache mit einer Schwerfälligkeit, die auf die Länge ungenießbar wird." Bombast in five foot iambic measure produces a baroque effect. The verses can be read as prose but are not prose. "Und als Versen fehlt ihnen jede Spur von Geschmack."² The masculine ending of the iambic lines is harsh. Such faults indicate a lack of naturalness and taste. "So wie der Dichter spricht, so denkt er auch."³

During this period of 1840-1852 Gutzkow's predominant interest in drama lends a peculiar interest to his dramatic theories. He believes in a definite conflict, inherent in the exposition and varying in type, according to the material used. There should be a complication point, usually in the third act, but the interest should continue to rise to the fifth act in which would come the catastrophe. Apparently new material implicit in the exposition should be injected into the fourth or fifth act if necessary to sustain the interest. Careful attention should be paid to the placing of scenes. Endings of scenes and acts should be varied. The characters should develop, should be correctly motivated, should really live, even survive the play itself. In a tragedy the hero must be noble, conscious of an ethical aim; he must fall through some act of his own. Morbidity and abnormality are most objectionable. Tragic and comic must not be too close together. Historical plays should be characterized both by accuracy and human interest, and should give an idea of a whole period rather than be merely anecdotal. Any Tendenz is objectionable which vitiates historical accuracy. Whether prose or verse is used depends on the kind of play. Prose is advisable for modern material. The writer ought to express himself clearly, accurately, sincerely, and finally, eloquently or picturesquely when necessary.

Not only does Gutzkow write reviews of poetry, story,

¹Gutzkow, "Judith und Holofernes," op. cit., p. 105.
"Man vergisst die Gestalten ..."

²Gutzkow, "Ein historisches Drama," op. cit., p. 225.

³Ibid., p. 226.

novel and drama but he also discusses philosophy, politics, psychology, biography and literary criticism. Although not quite as absorbed in current, non-literary subjects as he was in the early thirties he still advocates a union of art and the life of the time. He attacks the government for its lack of intelligent co-operation and asks rhetorically: "Wer stellt den Irrthümern und Ueberschreitungen in der Literatur nichts als die polizeiliche Maszregel entgegen und trennt das Leben des Geistes und der Institutionen mit einer schroffen, unübersteiglichen Scheidewand?"¹

Gutzkow praises a book on psychology by Rosenkranz because it is more than a dry narration of facts, it has flesh as well as bones.² A few comments on biography are very interesting for the light they shed on Gutzkow's much discussed personal slant in literary criticism. In a preface to his Börne biography he comments: "Von früh an habe ich die Neigung gehabt mich in fremde Individualitäten hineinzuleben."³ He stresses his interest in the real or "innermost" nature of man.⁴ There is a frank admission of the influence of the biographer's mind and nature on his interpretation of his subject.⁵

Gutzkow apparently has no illusions as to the standards or methods of the literary criticism of his time. "In den meisten Deutschen Unterhaltungs-Journalen ist die Kritik entweder Lückenbüsser oder erkaufte Partheisache."⁶ One critic contradicts the

¹Gutzkow, "Hitzig über die Existenz der Schriftsteller," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 34.

²Gutzkow, "Rosenkranz," Ver. Schr., II (Leipzig, 1842), 253-54. "Welche Studien, welche durchdachte Lectüre ..."

³Gutzkow, Preface, Börne's Leben (Hamburg, 1840), p. 6.

⁴Ibid., p. 7. "Was ich mir selbst geschenkt wissen wollte, dies Vertrauen auf die individuelle Selbstgerechtigkeit des Menschen, habe ich andern nie entzogen, ja mit Leidenschaft mir darin gefallen, mich in die Denk- und Fühlweise Anderer hineinzuleben, Adern und Geflechte in fremden Seelen tief zu verfolgen und die Menschen von innen heraus zu beurtheilen."

⁵Gutzkow, Werke, Houben, VIII, 87.

"Der Charakter jedes Biographen ist das Prisma, ..."

⁶Gutzkow, "Hitzig über die Existenz der Schriftsteller," op. cit., p. 31.

other and Menzel's magazine no longer carries any weight.¹ An author who has been rebuked may say that such a rebuke is the result, not of artistic faults, but of membership in a political party opposed to that of the critic. Thus he justifies himself for continuing the, for him, impossible task of writing.² Gutzkow's feeling is so intense that he even seems in one review to contradict his fervent belief in the union of current life and literature. "Wie konnte Fr. Hebbel der Majestät des Dichters so viel vergeben, dasz er der Zeitungspoetik unserer Tage die Konzession machte und eingestand, auch in den Leiden der armen Genoveva Zeitbedürfnis, Zeitrichtung, Zeitbewegung erstrebt zu haben?" In this Hebbel was mistaken, Gutzkow declares.

Dank den Musen, sie treten in diesem Drama nicht mit Zeitungsblättern auf.

.....
Der Stoff ist in einer Weise zu bearbeiten versucht, die allen Zeiten angehören kann.

Probably the explanation of an apparent contradiction of one of his most strongly held theories lies in his passionate resentment of anything degrading the sacredness of literature or of any domination by a coterie or clique. He says of Golo: "aber auch Golo philosophiert nach dem Leben nicht nach Paragraphen einer Schule."³ In an article on Lenau Gutzkow admits that like the other critics he has been remiss in not reviewing Gockel, Hinkel and Gakeleia by Brentano. His omission was due to carelessness and a desire to be more than a mere recorder. He continues: "Das Schöne geniesz' ich still, und das Hässliche tadl' ich laut." He believes that the world would turn to a fine work anyway, particularly when the author of such a book has no enemies and writes no criticisms.⁴ The same idea is present in a sardonic

¹Ibid., "Ein wahres Urteil in Leipzig gefällt ..."

²Ibid., pp. 31, 32. "Selbst die geistlichen und ..."

Cf. Gutzkow, "Ph. J. von Rehfuës," op. cit., pp. 404-05. "Die Partelleidenschaft ging sogar soweit, den Dichter dem nicht-begriffenen Staatsmann zu opfern ..."

³Gutzkow, "Genoveva," op. cit., pp. 107-08.

⁴Gutzkow, "An Uffo Horn in Wien," op. cit., p. 146. "Ich hab' auch geschwiegen ..."

remark at the end of a review on Klein's Maria von Medicis that the severity of the criticism might be attributed to Klein's being an opponent.¹ Gutzkow rarely tries to modify criticism or defend himself unaggressively. One paragraph in the article on Judith und Holofernes does that and attempts also to define the relation of nature and art.

Der Kunstrichter hat eine leidige Aufgabe. Der geistreiche Kopf erfindet etwas, es ist als das, was es ist, sehr interessant, sehr beachtungswert, und nun musz der Anatom kommen, musz beweisen, dasz diese Rose eine Lilie und dieser Knabe hätte ein Mädchen sein müssen. Die Natur lacht dazu aber die Kunst will sich von der Natur nicht auslachen lassen, und der Kritiker ist der unglückliche Mensch, der der Kunst recht geben musz.²

¹Gutzkow, "Ein historisches Drama," op. cit., p. 227.

"Ich sehe mich vergebens nach einer Milderung." This criticism according to Houben was responsible for Klein's vicious attack on Uriel Acosta six years later; H. Houben, Gutzkow=Funde (Berlin, 1901), pp. 427-33.

The parallel passages given below are from Gutzkow's review of Klein's Maria von Medici and from the extracts from Klein's review of Gutzkow's Uriel Acosta given in Houben's Gutzkow=Funde.

Gutzkow, p. 213: "Der Verfasser scheint gute Studien gemacht zu haben und diese haben ihn überwältigt."

Klein, p. 429: "Herr Gutzkow scheint etwas von dem Geiste, den er dramatisirte, verschluckt zu haben."

Gutzkow, p. 216: "Was ist Concini der Königin? Ein Rizio, ein Bothwell, ein Muñoz? Keine Spur einer Andeutung, warum ihn Maria bevorzugt. Hier hat Herr Klein eine Lücke gelassen, die Öde, wie das Grab ist. Konnte oder wollte er sie nicht ausfüllen?"

Klein, p. 429: "Wer liesz Uriel einkerkern? Der freisinnige, tolerante Amsterdamer Magistrat! Und diesen Punkt hat sich Herr Gutzkow entgehen lassen? Einen Punkt von so ungeheurer Wichtigkeit? Einen Punkt mehr wert als sein ganzes Drama?"

Gutzkow, p. 223: "Wer die eben gewonnenen Eindrücke gleich wieder verloren giebt und aus Erhabenen in's Unbedeutende springt, wird es nie zu einem bühhengerechten Drama bringen."

Klein, p. 431: "Die Liebe duldet keinen Gott auszer sich, und wer sie vollends in Kampf setzt mit der Liebe zur Wahrheit, lässt unentschieden, auf welche von beiden er sich weniger versteht; ob er dárftiger ist als Kopf oder als Gefühlsmensch."

Gutzkow, p. 226: "Denn beweisen sie nicht einen Mangel an Geschmack, Natürlichkeit, freiem Ergusz des Talentes, der sich auch an dem Inhalt des Buches rächen muszte? So wie der Dichter spricht, so denkt er auch."

Klein, p. 432: "Uriels innerste Unwahrheit und Haltlosigkeit beweist, wehe! dasz auch der, der solchen Wahrheitsmártyrer schafft—es musz heraus, 'ob auch Herzen brechen," dieses Mártýrertum nicht kennt."

²Gutzkow, "Judith und Holofernes," op. cit., p. 104.

Thus in any type of review Gutzkow, as in the earlier period, emphasizes the indissoluble union of literature with the life of the time. With reference to biography and literary criticism he points to his deep interest in and respect for the personality of others. He condemns unsparingly the critics who write only for money or for partisan interests and with a total lack of reverence for or understanding of any literature that is for all time. He wants to be independent even though he makes enemies thereby. He does attempt a defense in a half humorous analysis of the struggle between nature and art. The critic must advocate the cause of art.

The structure of Gutzkow's literary criticism remains essentially the same as heretofore. Generally he starts an article with a sentence or short paragraph giving a striking characteristic of or an episode from the work to be considered, as for instance when he emphasizes the poetical beauty of Immermann's Ghismonda.¹ He then continues with an analysis of the faults and virtues of the work, sometimes giving a very brief summary of the action as in the case of Klein's Maria von Medicis.² Occasionally, for instance in the last mentioned book, he gives a very brief account of the author before he analyzed the material. The discussion of style comes last and sometimes is very detailed.

Gern hätt' ich an den Schluss dieser Anzeige die aufrichtigste Anerkennung des vom Vf. angewandten Fleiszes und seiner wirklichen Vorzüge gesetzt, aber Rezensentenbrauch zwingt mich, von derjenigen Seite des Buches, die die schwächste ist, grade zuletzt reden zu müssen. Dies ist die Form.³

Since Freiburg-Räter has discussed Gutzkow's style thoroughly and especially since he has based his discussion almost entirely on this period, I shall not do more than summarize his main points.⁴ Gutzkow's style is very uneven, going from very good to very poor. Much more interested in content than in form he is.

¹Gutzkow, "Immermann's Ghismonda," op. cit., p. 205.

²"Dies zarte sinnige Gedicht ging dreimal über die Hamburger Bühne und zog seiner mannichfachen Schönheiten wegen ebenso an, ..."

³Gutzkow, "Ein historisches Drama," op. cit., p. 214.

"Maria von Medicis ist die nachgelassene Wittwe ..."

⁴Ibid., p. 224.

⁵F.-Räter, op. cit., pp. 55-90.

too apt to write before he knows exactly what he wants to say. As to any distinction between journalism and literary criticism, "Gutzkow betrachtet seine rein journalistische Tätigkeit als von der Kritik nur durch den Gegenstand unterschieden."¹ He is very anxious to influence his readers, a point to be kept in mind in considering his style.² Much as he admired Börne and at first, Heine, he does not generally attain their clearness and definiteness nor does he reach a really artistic plane. His style is very dramatic; a series of short sentences or short sentences interpolated amongst long ones, the use of antithesis, a building up to a climax and direct address. Hegel may have had something to do with the antithesis. Even with many clauses the long sentences are usually clear. Gutzkow uses very effectively words arousing emotion. In criticising poetry which he likes, he adopts a poetical style. In an attack he makes full use of comic effects, especially parody, or of lists of events that are ridiculous when put into juxtaposition. Heine is a master in this; for there is in Heine an organic connection not evident in Gutzkow. The same defect is noticeable in Gutzkow's use of figures of speech, however effective they are.³ Sometimes he coarsens one as in his use of Prometheus.⁴ He has no favorite figures. Gutzkow's dramatising sometimes spoils the logic of his statements, since logic and sensation are not reconciled. He delights in the new and novel. Unlike many others he is not often playful with the reader. He uses catch-words such as Idee and Tendenz frequently, makes shibboleths by employing the emotional type of words and indulges in word play such as es grabbelt after Grabbe. With reference to the structure of a criticism Freiburg-Rätter comments on Gutzkow's habit of plunging at once into the midst of his subject, on the variety of exposition, and on his keenness and wit.

¹Ibid., p. 60.

²Ibid., p. 63. "Damit ergibt sich ein neuer Gesichtspunkt: die Sprache des Kritikers, Publizisten und Agitators. Gutzkow lebt aus engster Fühlung mit dem Publikum."

³Ibid., p. 73. "Bei aller innerer Dynamik ist diese Bildlichkeit unorganisch."

⁴Ibid., p. 75. "Sehr nahe liegt Gutzkow das Bild des an den Felsen geschmiedeten Prometheus, an dessen stets nachwachsender Leber ein Geier frisst. Er überträgt es auf zeitgenössische Verhältnisse und vergrößert es, indem er es aufschwellt: ..."

He accuses Gutzkow of using this to distract the reader's attention from a weak argument as in his answer to Ruge. In spite of Gutzkow's defects Freiburg-Rüter concludes: "Wenn auch die Kritik der Zeit sich in weitem Masse die Mittel der Journalistik zunutze macht, wenn Polemik ein allzu geläufige Mittel des literarischen Verkehrs ist, so bedeutet doch Karl Gutzkow durch die Schlagkraft, Ausdauer und Vielseitigkeit der Kampfmethoden ein einzigartiges, von keinem Zeitgenossen überschattetes Phänomen."¹

I shall give a summary of the 1840-1852 period. During this time, as earlier, Gutzkow urges the union of literature with life, though he now puts less emphasis on the political element. He maintains literature is the greatest of arts and the greatest guide in human life. He wants in literature an artistic naturalness, that is, a realism transfused with idealism and far away from any abnormality, factual realism or out-moded, artificial romanticism.

Gutzkow sets up for poetry certain standards of sincerity and depth of feeling, fineness and plasticity of form but subordinates it to prose. It is based on emotion and so limited in range of expression. In the case of both novel and drama the author should have knowledge and experience and respect his work. The characters should be well motivated and show development. In the novel the plot should evolve smoothly according to the Nebeneinander scheme while in the drama the action should increase in force to the catastrophe in the last act. A tragedy implies noble aims but failure on the part of the hero. Any historical novel or drama should be correct historically but not at the cost of human interest. The style should be natural and in harmony with the subject. Gutzkow insisted that scientific works, biography and literary criticism must keep the element of human interest.

In a typical criticism Gutzkow starts with some comment about the author or the book, next he analyses and criticises the contents, then the form. Interested in content rather than form and determined to gain the reader's support Gutzkow sometimes sacrifices clarity and correctness to intended eloquence. His style is dramatic and forceful, characterized by variety of sentence structure, antithesis, direct address, figures of speech. He is decidedly aware of the connotation of words.

¹Ibid., pp. 89-90.

CHAPTER IV

UNTERHALTUNGEN AM HÄUSLICHEN HERD 1852-1863

A. Origin, Description and History

By 1852 Gutzkow had come to realize that he needed a greater income than the one received from his dramatic work. A magazine for which he would do all the writing seemed the best source of revenue. Doubtless also journalism still had a strong appeal. Brockhaus agreed to publish the magazine and on October 1, 1852 the first issue of Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd appeared. Gutzkow gave up the idea of doing all the writing but did contribute very largely and exercised very strict control.¹ During 1858 Gutzkow devoted considerable time to his novel Der Zauberer von Rom, decreasing his contribution to the Unterhaltungen but increasing his share the following year. In 1862 he wrote less for the magazine and gave up the editorship at the end of the year when Karl Frenzel took his place and kept the magazine alive for two years more.

For three years the magazine, a weekly, retained its original size and appearance, about nine by five inches, sixteen pages, no illustrations and with just an elaborate floral design on the first page. In the fourth year of publication the magazine was increased in size, though not in number of pages, and the floral design was made more elaborate, one with three children about a hearth fire. The subscription price was raised. In 1861 a four page news supplement was added and the subscription price raised again. The index has twenty divisions in which the following subjects are listed in detailed fashion: poetry, stories, both short and serial, descriptions of local customs and travels, articles on history, education, social conditions, economics, the

¹Gutzkow, "An unsere Leser," U. a. H., III, 1-3.

"Denn es ist bis jetzt wol noch nicht eine Nummer erschienen, die nicht von ihm (dem Herausgeber Gutzkow) aufs sorgfältigste vorbereitet und durchgearbeitet wurde, ..."

occult and abnormal, popular science, philosophy, religion, literature, art, music, the theatre, aphorisms, didactic poems and paragraphs and correspondence. In the body of the magazine the only separate division is one called "Anregungen," in which are placed most of the book reviews, brief articles on science and art, aphoristic remarks, didactic paragraphs, short poems, correspondence.

Gutzkow comments in his first leading article that he believes his readers will be grateful for a change from news magazines. He describes what he wants:

Es gibt noch Plätze, wo wir nur Menschen sind und nichts höher halten als unsere sittliche Würde und kein vortrefflicheres Mittel dazu kennen als die Bildung.

Unterhaltungen über dies Allgemeine—Natur, Geschichte, Menschenleben, Kunst, Geselligkeit, Erziehung, allgemeine Bedingungen unsers Daseins—sind der Zweck dieser Blätter, die Politik, kirchliche Polemik und streng-wissenschaftliche Kritik von ihrer Aufgabe ausschliessen, Unterhaltungen sind es—am häuslichen Herde, an jener Stätte des Friedens, wo der kämpfende von seinem Kampfe ausruht; ...¹

Gutzkow does not promise an exciting magazine but an interesting one with distinguished contributors. No steel engravings or lottery tickets are to be given as premiums but there will be an honest table of contents, a gay cover and a neatly printed title page. Gutzkow hopes that the numbers of his magazine will be saved, bound and so become a part of the family library.²

In October 1865 when the magazine was increased in size, Gutzkow summed up briefly some changes in German art, politics and society during the last ten years. Literature has assumed a different form.

In allen ihren Gebieten, den wissenschaftlichen wie schöngestigen, ist sie den Regungen der Bildung und gesteigerten Vervollkommen unserer Kenntnisse nähergetreten; sie hat die Schranken eingerissen, welche die Sprache der Schule vom Leben trennte.³

Scientific methods and results have profoundly affected the life of the average man. The schöne Literatur is no longer isolated,

¹Gutzkow, "Was wir bringen," U. a. H., I, 1-3.

²Ibid., p. 2. "Eingebunden dann in die Familienbibliothek gestellt zu werden, ..."

³Gutzkow, "An unsere Leser," U. a. H., N.F. I, 1.

the property of the chosen few.¹ To that one-time isolation of literature from life the Romantic School had contributed most. Moreover to the lack of public life in Germany before 1848 could be attributed whatever else happened, "um ein, wenn auch werthvolles und für den Geistesverkehr im Großen und Ganzen nicht hoch genug anzuschlagendes Treibhausleben als das wesentliche Kennzeichen der vergangenen Periode hinzustellen."² As in the preceding century poets have come close to the actual world. Magazines like this one are needed. Its scope has been widened, though Gutzkow does not want it to be like some which follow a fairy story with an article on the origin and cure of chilblains. He emphasizes his wish to appeal to readers who want to be in contact with the life of their time and yet are not satisfied with what is merely evanescent.³

To increase this contact of his readers with the current public life Gutzkow added a four page news supplement in 1861. His leading article affirmed the vital importance of culture, of the growth of the mental and emotional life of man. "Bildung ist Macht! Unablässig vorwärts strebt die Erkenntnis und der Geist allein ist Sieger."⁴ Gutzkow feels himself placed now midway between the faith of youth and the doubt of age. After declaring his belief in the power of thought he states with evident pride: "Unsere Zeitschrift war in Deutschland die erste, die, der Unterhaltung und Belehrung sich widmend, einen Zugang zum Familienleben suchte."⁵ In spite of competition with illustrated magazines the Unterhaltungen has been successful. Gutzkow made the usual request for new material from those of like faith.⁶ The article is rather somber in tone and there seems to be less confidence than

¹Ibid., "Eine gesteigerte Kraft des Wortes ..."

²Ibid., p. 2. "Einflüsse früherer Geschmacksrichtungen, vorzugsweise derjenigen, welche man die romantische Schule nennt, ..."

³Ibid., "Wir schmeicheln nicht dem Tage; wir glauben keineswegs, ..."

⁴Gutzkow, "Zum neuen Jahr," U. a. H., D.F. I, 2.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., "An die literarische Kräfte Deutschlands ergeht der frühere, schon öfters von uns ausgesprochen Ruf, auch ..."

formerly in the efficacy of reform, though the fight is to continue.

At the end of the 1862 volume is a short article by Gutzkow announcing the transfer of the editorship to Karl Frenzel and paying a warm tribute to the latter. Butzkow explains that he cannot do justice to both the Schiller Foundation and the Unterhaltungen. He writes with evident bitterness of the illustrated magazines which appeal to the naïve, childish desire to look, called instructive, while he believes in improving from within. In spite of that competition Gutzkow's magazine has prospered. Gutzkow mentions some difficulties. It is not in accord with his nature to tell anecdotes, to write in a sweet album style, to applaud always the course of contemporary events. He has felt a constant restraint which has irked him. What he has to say about life and literature has been conditioned, shortened and made fragmentary by the purpose of the magazine, i.e. entertainment. Gutzkow hopes that, before too long a time, there may appear in unhindered form what has been read only between the lines or has broken through, when reserve was cast aside. He feels he owes this explanation to his sympathizers in the struggle for freedom and light. They have a right to see in him a fighter who will not soon rest.¹

B. Editorials

A consideration of Gutzkow's plans for the Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd brings out some of the ideas underlying much of his criticism. Outside of the entertainment aim of the magazine the most obvious goal is that of improving any manifestation of the mental and emotional life of the Germans.² In spite of the ban on political discussions, reviews of books on political subjects gave Gutzkow an opportunity to bring out his ideas along that line. He makes obvious again as he had when he was a member of Young Germany his desire to integrate all factors of the life of his time, literary, social, religious, scientific and polit-

¹Gutzkow, "An unsere Leser und Mitarbeiter," U. a. H., D.F. II, 1040.

²F.-Räter, op. cit., p. 133. "Auf breiter Basis aufgebaut, dient es dem Unterhaltungs—und Bildungsbedürfnis ..."

ical.¹ He exalts the position of literature, but still it is to be a part of daily life.² In 1856 Gutzkow speaks of the unchanged course of his magazine.

"Auch sie Wollen der Zeit dienen und doch sich der Zeit entgegenstemmen."³ He stresses the idea that he is appealing to a cultured public, not one which is looking for education nor, on the other hand, one which is made up of experts.⁴ His comments recall what he said in 1832 in the Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin about the readers who merit attention.⁵ Gutzkow attacks materialistic philosophy vigorously. He is deeply interested in the study of nature, in the growth of natural sciences but does not believe in a mechanistic conception of nature.

Der rechte Fortschritt der Geister unserer Zeit liegt in dieser schwerern Rüstung und Wappnung, die uns die wärmere Betrachtung der Natur, der Geschichte, der laufenden Bedingungen der menschlichen Existenz gegeben hat. Dass das Geschlecht darum nicht allzu nüchtern werde, dass die Quellen einer idealischen Auffassung des Daseins sowol im ewigen Universum des Raums, wie im flüchtigen Atom der Zeit nicht ganz versiegen sollen am Materialismus oder der Nützlichkeitslehre einer modernen Dampfphilosophie, dafür mit zu sorgen ist jetzt die heilige Aufgabe der Feder. Dem Ideale eines solchen rechten Gebrauchs derselben werden nach wie vor diese Blätter gewidmet bleiben.⁶

Here is again the fiery young reformer of the thirties. Three years later he brings out the same idea, though now more calmly.⁷ Now, as previously, peace and resignation do not appeal to Gutzkow.

¹Gutzkow, "An unsere Leser," U. a. H., III, 2.

"Unsere Wochenschrift begleitet das Leben im Hause und in der Welt, ..."

²Gutzkow, "Das Publikum und die Zeitschriften," U. a. H., N.F. III, 15.

"Denn eins hängt am Andern, mit der sinkenden Kunst tritt auch der Verfall des Lebens, der Sitten, der politischen Macht eines Volkes ein, und wer dem einen widersteht, leistet allem Widerstand."

³Gutzkow, "An unsere Leser," U. a. H., N.F. II, 2.

⁴Gutzkow, "An unsere Leser," U. A. H., III, 1.
"Dem groszen gebildeten Publikum dagegen ..."

⁵Gutzkow, Briefe e. N., op. cit., p. 284.
"Hier, wo nicht die Drohungen der Tyrannen, ..."

⁶Gutzkow, "An unsere Leser," U. a. H., III, 2.

⁷Gutzkow, "An unsere Leser," U. a. H., N.F. I, 1.

He condemns a desire for money and materialistic enjoyment.¹ On one point there is an interesting shift of view from the youthful days. In Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin, Gutzkow devoted himself to the present, while in the Unterhaltungen he declares one should profit from the past and should work for the future.²

Gutzkow objects to serial stories, because he feels the length might detract from the interest in them³ but he does use some nevertheless. Simply to satisfy the women he has looked out for romantic biographies.⁴ Stories should not only begin in an interesting way but be developed clearly and to a satisfactory conclusion.⁵ While Gutzkow believes in viewing life seriously, in a close union of art and daily living, he has fought any realism which lowers poetic ideals, "Gegen das Uebermass dieses sogenannten Realismus haben wir immer gestritten."⁶

While these editorials give Gutzkow's program only in general terms, yet they bring out some of his basic views and characteristics. He still believes, as he had in the Young Germany period, in the union of literature with life in all its manifestations; in literature as the leader of progress; in the vital importance from any point of view of the present. Now, however, he does admit the value of the past as well as hope for the future. He still opposes romanticism, materialism, and any realism dominated by materialism. Now, no less than he had formerly in Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin (1832), in the Forum (1831), and in the Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur (1836), does Gutzkow show the intense emotion which marks all his work. He strives now,

¹Gutzkow, "An unsere Leser," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 3.

"Lediglich sind sie nur die Lückenbüsser der allenfalls einem Zeitalter des Erwerbs und des Sinnengenusses ..."

²Gutzkow, "An unsere Leser," U. a. H., N.F. II, 2.

Gutzkow's goal is, "der Zusammenhang mit den Aufgaben der Bildung und der Aufklärung."

³Gutzkow, "An unsere Leser," U. a. H., III, 2.

⁴Ibid., "Wenn hier und da weibliche Leser ..."

⁵Ibid., "Nur sollte man ihm auch Dank wissen, ..."

⁶Gutzkow, "An unsere Leser," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 2.

as before, to make his readers feel that he and they are united in feeling and aim.

C. Literary Articles

A very brief account of Gutzkow's articles on literary subjects in the Unterhaltungen will help to clarify my later detailed discussion of those articles. With very few exceptions Gutzkow wrote at least one article and frequently two or three articles on books or a literary subject for each Anregung section and occasionally one for the body of the magazine. From October 1, 1852 to the end of 1862 five hundred and thirty-three numbers of the Unterhaltungen were published. Even allowing for some long quotations which are included in his articles, Gutzkow wrote an amazing amount of literary criticism. The great variety of books considered bears evidence both to Gutzkow's avid interest in every phase of human activity and to the widespread response which the magazine aroused.¹ Education, science, medicine, politics, economics, sociology, literature, the arts all found a hearing and a more or less severe judgment, apt to be more rather than less severe. These articles may be divided into three classes: book notices, book reviews or elementary literary criticism and the more elaborate literary criticisms. Book notices are short paragraphs giving name of book and publisher with a very few comments.² The simpler type of literary criticism gives the reader some idea of the plot and characters and contains a literary discussion of both content and form of the work reviewed.³ The more elaborate literary criticism has a summary or description of the content, a criticism of the form and a discussion of some literary question.⁴ With the last mentioned type of criticism should be grouped articles not dealing with any particular book but treating some

¹Gutzkow, Preface, Werke, Houben, I, op. cit., p. 99.
Houben declares there were more than 5,000 subscribers,
"Obgleich das in seinem Auszern ..."

²Gutzkow, "Die Difteldinger," U. a. H., I, 224.

³Gutzkow, "Ernst Kossak," U. a. H., N.F. I, 574-75.

⁴Gutzkow, "Das Stuttgarter Hutzelmännlein," U. a. H., I, 735.

literary topic.¹

Occasionally there are very brief paragraphs on literary subjects such as Wahre Kritik.² Gutzkow's answers to or comments about letters, even though mostly very succinct, frequently contain interesting information, e.g. one on Heine, to the effect that certain poems attributed to the latter were obviously not his, since he could not have written anything so schwach.³ The footnotes to articles by other writers are interesting both because of the light they throw on Gutzkow's opinions and because of the proof they afford of his close supervision of the magazine. His objection to a comparison between the painter's colors and the musician's instruments is typical.⁴ While more can be learned about Gutzkow's literary criteria and methods from the literary criticisms than from the book notices and reviews, these, as well as the notes and correspondence, do aid materially in understanding Gutzkow, since he is an author who puts much of himself into everything he writes.

¹Gutzkow, "Die geistige Bewegung," U. a. H., N.F. I 45-47.

²Gutzkow, "Wahre Kritik," U. a. H., I, 177.

³Gutzkow, "Briefwechsel," U. a. H., D.F. I, 20.
"An Herr ... in Hamburg."

⁴Gutzkow, "Ueber Kunsturtheil," U. a. H., N.F. I, 535.
Footnote.

CHAPTER V

LITERARY CRITERIA IN THE UNTERHALTUNGEN

A. General Criteria by Which Gutzkow Judged Books He Reviewed

In this later period between 1852 and 1863, as in the earlier ones, Gutzkow believed that literature was superior to all other arts and that it had a great mission in the life of the nation.

Literature for him surpasses painting, sculpture and music in that it appeals through the imagination to all the senses, while the other arts by their very means of expression are limited in their appeal to certain senses only. They cannot give the perfume of a flower or the velvety touch of its petals. Painting and sculpture cannot reproduce the sound of a rippling brook. But a writer through his arousing of the imagination can call up such vivid images that the reader will have very nearly the same reactions as from the reality. Music, painting and sculpture make a direct appeal to the senses. Though it has no such appeal, literature can stimulate a variety of interest which the others cannot. The passing of time as shown in a narrative is impossible in other arts with their more limited resources. A painting cannot indicate that a man is growing old, a story can. A novel can show the evolution of human life but a painting or sculpture just one stage in it. Music can give a chain of moods but not events.¹ It should never predominate over literature as it does in Wagner's works.²

For neither music, painting, nor sculpture is there possible the mental and moral stimulation afforded by literature. The province of thought belongs to it as to no other art. A

¹Gutzkow, "Die Poesie eine Königin," U. a. H., II, 440.

²Gutzkow, "Richard Wagner'sche Musik," U. a. H., I, 126.
Gutzkow insists Wagner would substitute, "Im Anfang war die Note," for "Im Anfang war das Wort."

great author embodies in his work lofty philosophical concepts and becomes an intermediary between his readers and ancient life and thought; an interpreter of the great intellectual movement of the day both in his own and in foreign countries. In Lear and Hamlet Shakespeare shows himself a fine psychologist. Rückert explains Brahman philosophy more adequately than any philosopher could. Moral problems such as the nature and result of sin form an integral part of any great novel or drama as in the old Grecian plays.¹

Gutzkow repeatedly emphasizes the exalted position literature should occupy in the life of any country. In an editorial written in 1861 he declares, "Bildung ist Macht! Unablässig vorwärts strebt die Erkenntnis und der Geist allein ist Sieger."² At another time he describes the common goal of all the arts as the raising of man into an ideal, even to a certain extent, to a supernatural sphere.³ When discussing a book on aesthetics Gutzkow concludes that, "Man sollte nie vergessen, dass mit dem Sinken des Geschmacks und künstlerischer Anschauungen auch die Sitten und das Geschick eines Volks sich zum Verfall neigen."⁴ Discouragement with his age is based on the decline of culture, the fear that the theatre is losing contact with the serious side of life.⁵ Reminiscent of the Young Germany period is Gutzkow's refusal to support a meeting of singers at Nürnberg because politics had been barred.⁶ Thus, although his interest in literature has become increasingly centered on it as an art, he has not lost sight of his mission as a leader of social and, possibly, even political reform.

¹Gutzkow, "Die Poesie eine Königin," U. a. H., II, 441.

²Gutzkow, "Zum neuen Jahr," U. a. H., D.F. I, 2.

³Gutzkow, "Der Bund der Künste," U. a. H., N.F. III, 111.

⁴Gutzkow, "Populäre Aesthetik," U. a. H., N.F. II, 784.

⁵Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungslecture," U. a. H., N.F. III, 64.

"Die Cultur soll nicht mehr in die Höhe, sondern in die Breite gehen, das Handwerk nicht mehr eine Kunst, sondern die Kunst ein Handwerk sein."

See also Gutzkow, "Das Drama und die Bühne des Tages," U. a. H., I, 185.

⁶Gutzkow, "Briefwechsel," U. a. H., D.F. I, 300.

In discussing books of every type, on literature, art, philosophy and religion, politics, science and education, Gutzkow insists on the necessity of being "natural," sometimes, especially in literature and art, using the word "real" with apparently the same meaning. Whether to be natural is the same as to be real is not always evident but a realism transfused by idealism, one which advocates of an orthodox realism would reject, seems to fall under the classification of natural.

Poetry, drama and novel will be discussed later with reference to specific criteria but there should be some mention of them here in connection with the general standard of naturalness. Again and again Gutzkow insists on the spontaneous quality of lyric poetry, it must spring immediately from the author's own nature. Though he calls Frauenherz by Luise Büchner a real lyric he is critical of hypochondria, introduced for effect.¹ He commends the ballads of Friedrich von Schack because in them there is no evidence of "printed source" or "study lamp."² In an enthusiastic encomium of some of Hebbel's poems he praises their simplicity and naturalness.³ Some of Rudolph Gottschall's poems are criticised favorably for being simple, fine and springing from personal experience.⁴ Epic poetry does not need to be written about a far away age, it should be of the present time and thus be far more natural. Didactic poetry is objectionable when it ceases to be natural, when the lesson overpowers the poetry.

Gutzkow protests vehemently against the sordid content of so much of the drama of his day as well as against the frequently unnatural acting. He disapproves of sentimentalized characters, of the super-hero type such as Hebbel's Holofernes or E. Wichert's Withing van Samland.⁵ Obviously Gutzkow was deeply interested in acting. In reviewing articles or books concerning the state, he sets up faithfulness to life as his standard

¹Gutzkow, "Neue Gedichte," U. a. H., D.F. II, 216.

²Gutzkow, "Dichter," U. a. H., D.F. II, 674.

³Gutzkow, "Friedrich Hebbel's Gedichte," U. a. H., N.F. III, 333-36.

⁴Gutzkow, "Rudolph Gottschall," U. a. H., N.F. III, 271-72.

⁵Gutzkow, "Ein Lese-Pensum," U. a. H., D.F. II, 234-36.

of excellence and has more patience with exaggeration of feeling than with a stiffly regulated type, a silly affected one or indeed anything showing lack of understanding or indifference to the character presented.¹ Not only does Gutzkow criticise adversely variations from the natural in the content of the drama but he applies the same standard to the structure, style or form. Shakespeare's shifts in time and place are too great to be credible and destroy the effect of naturalness which he would otherwise have produced. In *King Richard II* having Richard's life go by like a panorama is very improbable.² Gutzkow believes the last act of Hebbel's *Agnes Bernauer* should be dropped as Agnes' death reasonably ends the play. In *Gyges und sein Ring* the idea or theme of the play is at variance with the environment. In Hebbel's *Die Nibelungen* Hagen has not been kept a background character and has thereby decreased the impression of naturalness.³

With respect to characters in novels as in drama Gutzkow requires a high degree of reality or naturalness. He disapproves of the needlessly deplorable characters in Frenzel's *Die drei Grazien*.⁴ Spielhagen's *Problematische Naturen*⁵ contains apparently fantastic characters but still they are based on actuality. Levin Schücking can bring in criminal elements and yet keep the book from being sordidly real.⁶ Cooper and Marryat are commended for the reality of their characters⁷ while Mrs. H. B. Stowe's *Die*

¹Gutzkow, "Dramatische Literatur," *U. a. H.*, D.F. II, 295. Joseph Weilen--*Tristan*; fine characterization especially commended.

²Gutzkow, "Shakespeare=Experimente," *U. a. H.*, N.F. II, 656.

³Gutzkow, "Friedrich Hebbel," *U. a. H.*, N.F. I, 189-92. Gutzkow, "Dramatisierungen der *Nibelungen*," *U. a. H.*, N.F. II, 463; Hebbel--*Die Nibelungen*.

⁴Gutzkow, "Karl Frenzel," *U. a. H.*, D.F. II, 675.

⁵Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungsliteratur," *U. a. H.*, D.F. II, 175, "Wie phantastisch daher auch einige der Hauptgestalten des Spielhagen'schen *Tomans* als Typen dieser problematischen Naturen auf den ersten Anblick erscheinen mögen, ... so stehen sie dennoch auf durchaus glaubhaftem Boden."

⁶Gutzkow, "Zur Unterhaltung," *U. a. H.*, N.F. IV, 800. L. Schücking, *Die Rheider Burg*.

⁷Gutzkow, "Die Welt der Träume," *U. a. H.*, I, 304.

Maiblume is vigorously criticised for its sickly sentimentalism. On the other hand, parts of Uncle Tom's Cabin are praised for unaffected naturalness.¹ In Alfred Meiszner's Der Freiherr von Hostiwin there is entirely too much of a world-weary, theatrical Don Juan.² Gutzkow objects emphatically to Fontane's type of "every day" people³ and Freytag's type of business people;⁴ both are too extreme to be natural. In the novel Rosmarin by Alexander Jung there is entirely too much self-mirroring through biographical details.⁵ While Walter Scott's novels are often inaccurate, yet they are real in the sense of being true to the spirit of the time portrayed.⁶

In his defense and explanation of his own Nebeneinander structure of Die Ritter vom Geiste Gutzkow maintains that this is the kind which most nearly reproduces life, and that, even though it has to be told as a Nacheinander, the author's standpoint makes an essential difference in favor of realism.⁷ Weilen's Tristan he condemns for its utterly improbable conclusion.⁸ While he concedes that the Harper and Mignon with their songs in Wilhelm Meister can be justified, he disapproves of such injections of poetry into novels as unnatural. Frenzel's plot in Die drei Grazien he criticises as too complicated to be natural.⁹ In

¹Gutzkow, "Die Maiblume," U. a. H., I, 446-47.
Gutzkow, "Onkel Tom's Hütte," U. a. H., I, 97-99.
Page 98, "Neben der Tendenz ist auch die Charakteristik vortrefflich."

²Gutzkow, "Alfred Meiszner," U. a. H., N.F. III, 320.

³Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungslectüre," U. a. H., III, 207-08.

⁴Gutzkow, "Ein neuer Roman," U. a. H., III, 558-96.
Page 573, "Das Interesse ist, ..."

⁵Gutzkow, "Alexander Jung's Rosmarin," U. a. H., D.F. II, 753-56.

⁶Gutzkow, "Das Verarbeiten der Geschichte, zu Romanen," U. a. H., N.F. III, 431-32.

⁷Gutzkow, "Vom deutschen Parnasz," U. a. H., II, 286-88.

⁸Gutzkow, "Dramatische Literatur," U. a. H., D.F. II, 295.

⁹Gutzkow, "Karl Frenzel," U. a. H., D.F. II, 675.

Zwischen Himmel und Erde Ludwig employs enough details of the outward appearance of characters and place to wear out any healthy minded reader and his plot is sick with impossibilities.¹

Various comments on style originate in this same insistence on naturalness, reality, or on what was at least Gutzkow's idea of them. In general he declares that literature has broken down the bars which separate the language of the school from that of life. Alexander von Humboldt is commended for his simple, unaffected manner of expression,² but Heine wearies through repetition of certain types of metre and use of fairies, moonlight and so forth.³ Frenzel in Die drei Grazien makes his characters talk in such learned fashion that they sound affected.⁴ Heinrich König in his autobiography has carried plays on words to an extreme.⁵ An affected style is the charge more than once against Geibel, a writer who would change a simple manner of expression into an aphoristic one.⁶ Gottschalk employs rhymes with classical metres and thus creates a dissonance.⁷ In his Nibelungenlied play Geibel made his verses too smooth and easy-flowing to seem natural while Heibel, in his Nibelungenlied play, adopted too epigrammatic and aphoristic a style to appear natural.

Gutzkow notes approvingly that Grimm and Herder ended the idea of the supernatural origin of language. In his consideration of details in grammar and spelling there is the same tendency to emphasize the simple and natural. The ablative absolute, the Latin participial construction, is out of place in German. In die Seele schämen is given preference over in der Seele schämen, tod

¹Gutzkow, "Die 'realistischen' Erzähler," U. a. H., N.F. II, 270-71.

²Gutzkow, "Alexander von Humboldt," U. a. H., I, 735.

³Gutzkow, "Die Götter im Exil," U. a. H., I, 464.

⁴See footnote 9, p. 48.

⁵Gutzkow, "Vermischte Schriften," U. a. H., D.F. II, 155. H. König—Ein Stilleben.

⁶Gutzkow, "Die deutsche Poesie im philologischen Stadium," U. a. H., II, 767-68.

⁷Gutzkow, "Rudolph Gottschall," U. a. H., N.F. III, 271-72.

over tot,¹ Haupt over Haubt, Thräne over Träne, all on the basis of naturalness.²

Although there was more than one reason for the disagreement between Gutzkow and Richard Wagner, the latter's lack of naturalness contributed much to the conflict. In a passionate attack Gutzkow recalls that the production of one certain note of music was penalized by death in ancient Athens and asks what would have happened to Wagner there. Gutzkow objects vehemently to the morbid, the sensuous in Wagner's music and declares he felt as though he had been on the rack after listening to it.³ Schumann and Mendelssohn appeal to him as creating music much closer to the ideal, more natural than modern music which is so often sickish and artificial.⁴ He believes firmly in a natural talent for music and that it is of no use to train any one who does not have such a native gift.

Gutzkow criticised books and articles on painting and sculpture and commented frequently on the works of art themselves. He dislikes whatever seems unnatural such as Kaulbach's use of Nordic figures for conceptions fittingly expressed only by Greek figures. In a picture by Murillo the contrast between an old and a young woman impressed Gutzkow greatly for there was no attempt to minimize the effects of age and yet there was a gentleness, a benignity about the old woman which contributed as much to the beauty of the picture as did the attractiveness of youth.⁵ Generally Gutzkow is hostile to illustrations in books and magazines or rather to what he feels is the superabundance of them. In his opinion too many illustrations weaken the reader's imagination, cause superficiality and encourage morbid curiosity about private affairs. However, he does comment favorably whenever the illustra-

¹Gutzkow, "Lyrische Poesie," U. a. H., III, 352.

²Gutzkow, "Zur Manierirtheit der Poeten," U. a. H., II, 560.

³Gutzkow, "Richard Wagner'sche Musik," U. a. H., I, 126-28.

⁴Gutzkow, "Franz Liszt," U. a. H., N.F. III, 140-41.
Page 140, Gutzkow defends Schumann and Mendelssohn from Liszt by saying that they too thought, but thought differently.

⁵Gutzkow, "Die Schönheit des Alters," U. a. H., I, 16.

tions are fine and natural and aid in bringing out the meaning of the book.¹ Drawing should be taught the natural way, i.e., by using the objects to be pictured as models and not by drawing from copies. In other words he wants the method as natural as possible.

In reviewing books or articles on aesthetics Gutzkow objects strenuously to what he calls artificial standards, to attempts to set up certain categories and put all works in them as one would place materials in boxes.² He condemns formalism, which he accuses a München group, with some great exceptions, of encouraging.³ Standards, inherited from the past and therefore, in certain critics' eyes, sacrosanct are unnatural, unfitting to the present.⁴ Dramas are not written by rule. Aesthetic tenets determined by catch words, by cliques, by the prestige of certain individuals are condemned unreservedly. They do not allow the author to be himself, to be natural.⁵ Gutzkow quotes George Lewes and Goethe as to the likeness of art and nature and, in addition, Goethe's comment that he considered it Kant's greatest service to have put art and nature on the same plane and to have shown that they act without goal and on the basis of great principles.⁶ Gutzkow accepts the second statement with a reservation. Although he agrees with Vischer's opinion about the relation of content and form, he dislikes the arabesque in the latter's work as well as his Hegelian abstractness.⁷ He believes the artist should produce his work because of a creative urge and should not be always

¹Gutzkow, "Die Illustrationen," U. a. H., N.F. III, 511-12.

²Gutzkow, "Theaterkritiken," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 430-31
Gutzkow, "Wahrnehmungen," U. a. H., N.F. II, 368.

³Gutzkow, "Vom BÜchertisch," U. a. H., D.F. II, 1039.

⁴Gutzkow, "Geschichte und Theorie des Dramas," U. a. H., D. F. II, 1013.

Gutzkow disapproves of any "Dichten nach dem Rechenbuch."

⁵Ibid., p. 559.

⁶Gutzkow, "Aesthetische Ideenjagd," U. a. H., N.F. III, 366.

⁷Gutzkow, "Inhalt und Form in der Kunst," U. a. H., N.F. III, 638.

Gutzkow, "Dichter," U. a. H., D.F. II, 674. "Die Vischer'sche Aesthetik macht zur praktischen Kunstregel die Arabeske."

conscious of a theory of beauty and attempt to carry it out, as he maintains Heinrich von Kleist did.¹

The two philosophers most frequently mentioned in the Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd are Hegel and Schopenhauer though the names of Kant and Leibniz do occur. Reference to the latter is in connection with his theory of music which Leibniz based on mathematics, and with which Gutzkow agrees as the most logical and natural one. He quotes Kant in a discussion of religion founded on belief and not susceptible of material proof and uses Kant in his fight against materialistic philosophy. While he fights the idea of pure materialism, he is just as emphatically opposed to revelation and supernaturalism, both being contrary to reality.² Philosophy can never explain God, so one can only pass on the existence of God on the basis of faith. There is no good which contradicts human nature. No person is all good or all bad, there can be no fixed standard such as a "normal" man. Hegel is recognized as an authority in aesthetics and philosophy but Gutzkow dislikes his wunderliche formulas, his thoughts that think themselves, his manner of expression, since all vary so from what Gutzkow considers natural. In reviewing a book by Schelling he is somewhat at a loss to know how to discuss it, since philosophy has now become real.³ D. F. Strausz wins his approval, since Strausz has a natural view point and writes in a natural way. Schopenhauer, while recognized as a genius, is very bitterly attacked for his cynicism, his lack of sympathy with liberalism, his lack of humanity. There are few personalities which seem to repel Gutzkow as does Schopenhauer's. He cannot understand the latter's cynicism and the very violence of his feelings renders him incapable of evaluating Schopenhauer's work fairly.⁴

¹See footnote 4, p. 51.

²Gutzkow, "Zur Religionsphilosophie," U. a. H., N.F. III, p. 270. "Heutzutage müssten wir es darum als einen Rückfall betrachten, wenn jemand die Sprache oder die Religion oder sonst eine objectiv=geistige Macht noch aus unmittelbarer, göttlicher Offenbarung ableitete."

³Ibid., p. 31.

⁴Gutzkow, "Arthur Schopenhauer's Testament," U. a. H., N.F. V, 879-80.

While the Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd was not a political magazine, governmental questions do appear and aside from his opposition to repression in any form, one of Gutzkow's determinants in judging an author's handling of materials is whether he has a sense of reality, can handle facts. In his opinion Gervinus is right in saying the United States of America has disproved two statements made by political economists,¹ namely, that popular rule can succeed only in a small country and religious tolerance is possible only when the religious feeling is lukewarm. Gutzkow considers mass movements such obvious features of the life of the time that he cannot understand how any one can disregard them. History has offered so comparatively little that is certain or clear that people have turned to a study of natural science. Even Ranke whom Gutzkow praised, has lost some of his earlier human touch and understanding.²

Gutzkow was deeply interested in science and the place it was taking in the life of the time. He believes people are turning to the natural sciences for certainty in the midst of so much that is unstable in public life. The natural sciences afford the answers to the problems of natural phenomena and are affecting profoundly philosophy and religion. In so far as they overturn the supernatural and miraculous Gutzkow approves but not when they threaten the spiritual, for he looks on that as vital, as essentially natural to man. Gutzkow sounds a warning against the danger of popularizing scientific articles and making them affected, artificial, sentimental.³ Alexander von Humboldt is praised enthusiastically more than once for his services in spreading a sound knowledge of nature.⁴ Books by doctors who depend on a natural regime, that is diet and exercise, are strongly recommended.

Gutzkow was deeply interested in education and reviewed

¹Gutzkow, "Die historischen Bauten," U. a. H., I, 287.

²Gutzkow, "Ein neues Werk," U. a. H., N.F. V, 77-79.

³Gutzkow, "Die Naturseligen," U. a. H., II, 288.
"Eine gewisse populäre Naturbeschreibung."

⁴Gutzkow, "Alexander von Humboldt," U. a. H., N.F. V,

many books and articles dealing with various phases of it. His approval is certain if the views expressed are in accord with nature but otherwise not. He criticises one book on women's education very severely because of what he considers its utterly sentimental, impractical ideas.¹ In other reviews he maintains that, as women are by nature different from men physically, mentally, and emotionally, they should not receive the same type of education but should be trained for work they are to do.² In a review of a book on religious training he lays great emphasis on the fact that the methods are in accord with those of nature. He believes that a good teacher would have inborn teaching ability,³ would pay more attention to the student than the subject,⁴ would try to follow nature's methods and would train all human capacities.⁵

To decide just what Gutzkow means by natural is somewhat of a problem. In the case of science it means using nature, animate or inanimate, as the basis of investigation. In philosophy or religion it means that these result from man's mind and spirit, and not from a supernatural source. The belief in the occult is discarded as incompatible with methods of scientific research. In pedagogy the term natural is applied to material and methods adapted to the child's nature, to a cheerful, wholesome school atmosphere. The term natural in connection with the arts means that the material should be based on man's nature which, according to Gutzkow, is a unit, producing both good and bad. Spontaneity, freshness, simplicity and sincerity should be the characteristics of artistic expression. There is an apparent contradiction in his statement that all arts have in common the goal of raising man to an ideal level, which is to a certain extent a supernatural sphere, but certainly not an unnatural one. He explains, however, quoting from Goethe, that a work of art appears

¹Gutzkow, "Buchmacherei," U. a. H., N.F. V, 63-64.

²Gutzkow, "Erziehung zur Schönheit," U. a. H., N.F. III, 302.

³Gutzkow, "Unterricht und Erziehung," U. a. H., N.F. II, 16, calls the book "gesund und maszvoll."

⁴Gutzkow, "Heilung und Pflege geistesschwacher Kinder," U. a. H., N.F. II, 416.

⁵Gutzkow, "Zur Religionsphilosophie," U. a. H., N.F. III, 270-318.

a work of nature because it appeals to the better nature of the spectator and is above but not outside of nature. His definition of an artist expresses somewhat the same thought. The element of the ideal involved here will be discussed more fully in connection with realism.

Gutzkow objects strenuously to any sign of abnormality or of unnaturalness in an author's treatment of his material. It is a predominant note in his reviews and often appears to be the determining factor in his judgment of books from the first to the last issue of the Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd. His conception of the term abnormal or unnatural, a very broad one indeed, can best be explained through specific examples.

In the introduction to the first issue of Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd Gutzkow emphasizes strongly the importance of a "normal" attitude. Throughout his editorship he continues this emphasis. Any playing with ideas, any sickly sentimentalizing are traits sure to rouse his prompt and vigorous condemnation and cause scorn to be heaped on such pretty effects. In the case of Julie Burow Gutzkow ranks her sentimentalized, affected narrative below even Levin Schücking's pictures of brutality to which he objects.¹ Collections of poetry are often subjected to sarcastic comments for this reason. Michael Berend's poems may be healthy at the core but they are sicklied over with the Heine plague of fairies, flowers and haunted castles. The famous Heine irony he dislikes as unnatural and warns amateurs against Heine. There is not enough genuine feeling in most of the poetry of his time, it is artificial, having little contact with actual life.² Apropos of collections of poetry for Christmas he sardonically comments he has some hopes for a few of them as they are not bound with gilt coverings, but he has found little substantiation of his hopes. The delight of the new romanticists, such as the two Dumas and Eugene Sue, in making even the simplest action mysterious and the most ordinary situation full of terrible possibilities he considered very objectionable. Sue sees mystery only when his imagination is feverishly aroused but Dumas needs merely to see a broom with reddened bristles to suspect a murder, forgetting that

¹Gutzkow, "Zur Unterhaltung," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 800.

²Gutzkow, "Lyrische Poesie," U. a. H., III, 351-52.

the steps just swept are of reddish stone. Other instances of such freakish imagination are collected in an endeavor to bring out the point, that such an author's attitude is fundamentally unnatural and absurd.¹

As strenuously as Gutzkow condemns the affected and artificial, he is even more vigorous in his denunciation of any unnaturalness in the guise of the cynical, sordid, criminal, perverted or abnormal. Wherever the material of the book involves the objectionable, Gutzkow is at once ready to protest and only when convinced that the author is treating such material in a detached, objective, natural way, and not using it in excess does he relax his vigilance. Karl Frenzel is one of Gutzkow's friends but when Frenzel in his novel shows too much kinship with the cynical attitude of certain of his characters, he is firmly rebuked. Frenzel is following Schopenhauer and the latter's philosophy is anathema to Gutzkow because of its extreme pessimism.² Bogumil Goltz is criticised harshly for his bitter, hypochondriacal attitude.³ Thackeray, who devotes himself to satirizing the frailties of human nature, is in so far inferior to H. B. Stowe, who at least does constructive work.⁴

The Dorfgeschichte is attacked with special vehemence by Gutzkow as it embodies and indeed becomes the symbol of two trends of which he thoroughly disapproves. Characters, such as Auerbach's Barfüszle, sometimes talk in a manner entirely out of harmony with

¹Gutzkow, "Die Reichthümer der Phantasie," U. a. H., I, 35-37. Page 36: "Für sie gibt es nichts Wirkliches mehr, sondern nur die Phantasie."

²Gutzkow, "Karl Frenzel," U. a. H., D.F. II, 675-76.

³Gutzkow, "Bogumil Goltz," U. a. H., N.F. III, 671-72.

⁴Gutzkow, "Thackeray," U. a. H., I, 304.

About Thackeray's latest book "Er soll zu berechnet und mit dem Buch des Tags: 'Onkel Tom' verglichen, von einer erkältenden Ausstudirtheit sein."

Cf. Grenzboten (1853), p. 45: "Es ist nicht leicht, das, was ihm fehlt, in einem einzelnen Ausdruck zusammenzufassen; indes glauben wir nicht missverstanden zu werden, wenn wir es den künstlerischen Idealismus nennen."

their surroundings and so creates an impression of affectation and artificiality. On the other hand sordid details are sometimes introduced in such number that they give only a one-sided view and so detract from real naturalness.¹ Keller incurs Gutzkow's censure for his uninspired, overly real stories and a certain self-satisfaction hostile to human kind, even though his ability is recognized.² Ludwig would drive a healthy minded reader to distraction with details of life, looked at from the outside.³ While George Eliot has imagination and ability, still Gutzkow prays for release from such a petty, stifling existence as that portrayed without relief in Adam Bede.⁴ Levin Schücking is commended for a reality touched by poetry.⁵ Kompert's pictures of Bohemian Jewish life win the qualified praise of being written with a certain glorification of the characters, which however does not detract from reality.⁶ Even though his character presentation is strong and vivid, Holtei according to Gutzkow weights his stories with gloomy, revolting material.⁷

Emil Kuh is accused of treating strange cases as though they are the rule, not the exception, a characteristic due largely to Hebbel's influence.⁸ In no case is Gutzkow's strenuous objection to the abnormal brought out more strongly than in his attacks on Hebbel. Maria's death in Maria Magdalena is the result of an

¹Gutzkow, "Die 'realistischen' Erzähler," U. a. H., N.F. II, 270-72.

²Gutzkow, "Die Leute von Seldwyla," U. a. H., N.F. I, 591.

³Gutzkow, "Verirrungen der Dorfgeschichte," U. a. H., N.F. III, 93-95. Pages 93, 94 review of Ludwig's Thüringer Naturen. Some parts would drive "den gesunden und natürlich empfindenden Leser" to despair.

⁴Gutzkow, "Adam Bede," U. a. H., N.F. V, 863.

⁵Gutzkow, "Schücking's Die Geschworenen," U. a. H., D.F. II, 176.

⁶Gutzkow, "Neue Romane und Novellen," U. a. H., N.F. V, 447-48.

⁷Gutzkow, "Für die Winterabende," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 324-84. Review of Holtei's Die Töchter des Freischulzen.

⁸Gutzkow, "Emil Kuh," U. a. H., N.F. II, 752.

affair with impossible, abnormal motivation; Judith in Judith und Holofernes is so twisted and perverted from the simple, true Biblical character that she has become a George Sand type. In a warmly appreciative criticism of Hebbel's poem Mutter und Kind Gutzkow expresses the fervent wish that the author would always choose such material and treat it as Hebbel does in this case, creating a natural and beautiful work of art. With his strength, his rare vision what could he not do with material such as Goethe and Schiller used! At another time Gutzkow seeks by studying Hebbel's youth to account for what he regards as Hebbel's zest for, his absorption in the criminal, perverted, and abnormal. It is this very absorption in such material that arouses Gutzkow's ire.¹ To some not unfavorable comments on A. von Sternberg's account of the painter Rubens is added the sardonic remark that A. von Sternberg should have lived in the time of the Marquis de Sade.² A very clear expression of Gutzkow's attitude towards the abnormal is found in his indignant rebuke of J. Scherr.³ It may be necessary to show a morass of bad morals but an author does not need to jump into it. Gutzkow himself had been accused of morbid motivation in Uriel Acosta and indignantly denies such a charge. He adds however that there is no reason why an author should not treat of the abnormal or morbid, provided, and that is the crux of the situation, that he treat it with scientific detachment and neither show sympathy with it nor revel in it.

One section of Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd is devoted to the occult, the strange and queer in human nature and actions and in every volume of the magazine one or more of the stories deal with some strange quirk in human nature. Reviews frequently discuss some phase of the abnormal or unusual. Gutzkow is deeply interested in mesmerism, he follows the accounts of spirit readings in various countries—America, England, Germany, with eager attention and his comments on phrenology, palm reading,

¹Gutzkow, "Friedrich Hebbel," U. a. H., N.F. I, 190.

²Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungsliteratur," U. a. H., D.F. II, 454.

³Gutzkow, "Blücher und seine Zeit," U. a. H., D.F. II, 435.

character determination through handwriting show that he was giving both time and thought to them. He believes phrenology could reveal inborn traits. He suggests that the mood of the moment can be detected through studying the writing. Astrology and Kabbala he casts aside but wonders whether there are any secret number relationships such as between the middle years of the centuries, 1750 and 1850 for example.¹ In every volume of the magazine there are accounts of life as lived under conditions which vary from the sordid and poverty-stricken to the criminal.

All this would indicate that Gutzkow was deeply interested in the occult, strange, abnormal or whatever was outside the pale of ordinary existence. His very vehemence of denunciation of literature dealing with the strange, morbid or abnormal leads to speculation as to Gutzkow's real mental and emotional attitude. This interest of his was one which certainly did not decrease with age, at least as far as such interest was manifested in his writings.

In his Young Germany period he was obviously attracted by such subject matter as his Briefe eines Narren an eine NÄrrin makes abundantly plain. There is a clear distinction between Gutzkow's early use of the abnormal in Briefe eines Narren an eine NÄrrin and the one he attacked in the Unterhaltungen. In the former, insanity was a means to a greater or more vivid expression of certain ideas, while in the latter the abnormal or perverted was employed as subject matter, an end in itself, not simply a means to an end. However both indicate a fundamental interest in such aspects of human life, which hardly needs verification by reference to his biography, though that bears evidence to it. It seems altogether probable that his ever sensitive and keen mind warned him of the dangers inherent in dealing with such subjects and that he attacked them the more vehemently the more he felt the pull in that direction. It would not be safe to attribute all of Gutzkow's fervent emphasis on the natural or normal to this leashed feeling but it certainly lent force to that defense of the natural or normal which we find throughout his reviews, no matter with what type of book they deal.

¹Gutzkow, "Der Verlauf der Jahrhunderte," U. a. H., I, 432.

Romanticism as destructive of mental, emotional, and sometimes even physical health finds a vigorous condemnation in Gutzkow's discussion of Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen. Gutzkow quotes Spielhagen on the poison of romanticism.¹ He gives no adequate definition of it. However judging from an article called "Zur Dorfpoesie,"² as well as from others quoted later, romanticism is a movement that knowingly falsifies its subject matter by making beautiful or picturesque, strange or horrible, what is really not so. There are other characteristics which will be noted later. In a criticism of Unvergessenes by Helmina von Chézy Gutzkow speaks of Friedrich Schlegel's "intoxicated" imagination resulting in the most lamentable mysticism.³ He objects forcefully to the romantic tendency to run away from the world of actuality, even becoming so specific once as to assert they, the romanticists, were trying to escape from Napoleon Bonaparte.⁴ In the article on Helmina von Chézy he describes her attitude toward the mediaeval as one learned from Arnim and Friedrich Schlegel. She looks upon it as a Chinese picture without any perspective, painted with carmine and gold on porcelain.⁵ It is the unreality or lack of truth which stirs him to attack, even against such a favorite as Jean Paul. It is in connection with his own time, however, that some of his severest strictures on romanticism occur. While he is at one time optimistic enough to say that, "Doch die Zeit des romantischen Spuks ist vielleicht vorüber," he usually holds no such view.⁶ In an editorial he remarks that the romantic caprices of 1813 and after are not his concern, not to be considered even though urged by certain influential lyric and frömmelnden Schöngeister.⁷ Romantic commonplaces, romantic nonsense à la Grabbe and Geibel, affected, artificial, unreal are

¹Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungsliteratur," U. a. H., D.F. II, 175.

²Gutzkow, "Zur Dorfpoesie," U. a. H., N.F. II, 64.

³Gutzkow, "Helmina von Chézy," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 350-52.

⁴Gutzkow, "Ueber Poesie und Poetenthem," U. a. H., I, 489.
"Zu dieser einen Gefahr. ... Man mochte vor 50 Jahren ..."

⁵Gutzkow, "Helmina von Chézy," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 351;
footnote 3.

⁶Gutzkow, "Für die Winterabende," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 45.

⁷Gutzkow, "Der häusliche Herd," U. a. H., I, 223-24.

some of the terms used in another article.¹

He maintains that French romanticism is essentially false, artificial and affected and cites the author of The Count of Monte Cristo as an example of an absurdly romantic or unreal point of view. Both Sue and he cannot look at life normally, they are continually seeing mystery where none exists.² The immorality linked with French romanticism is particularly reprehensible and he attacks its influence on German authors as in the case of Julia Burow.³ The danger of das Unverständige und Gedankentolle in content and the seeking for the unusual and exceptional he attributes to the old romanticism.⁴ It is one more attempt to escape reality. In a review of Uncle Tom's Cabin he commends its reality in contrast to the Germans who are amphibians, half on the continent of duties and half in the silent ocean of longing or in lily covered forest lakes of romantic imagination.⁵ He objects strenuously to the elves, moonshine, haunted castles, romantic irony, considered as typical of German literature by some English and French critics.⁶ Fairy stories and mediaeval ballads are objectionable.⁷

One charge sometimes made by Gutzkow against the Dorfgeschichte is its unreality. The tendency to glorify primitive nature or make it romantic because it is primitive he traces to Rousseau and then mentions Bernardin de Saint Pierre's Paul et Virginie.⁸ He criticises Auerbach for his, at times, untrue

¹Gutzkow, "Dichter," U. a. H., D.F. II, 674-75.

²Gutzkow, "Die Reichthümer der Phantasie," U. a. H., I, 33-37.

³Gutzkow, "Zur Unterhaltung," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 800.

⁴Gutzkow, "Ueber Poesie und Poetenthem," U. a. H., I, 487-92.

⁵Gutzkow, "Onkel Tom's Hütte," U. a. H., I, 98.

"Wir wollen darum unsere Stubenfiguren nicht verachten."

⁶Gutzkow, Footnote to article on "Byron und Goethe," U. a. H., N.F. II, 493.

⁷See Footnote 4.

⁸Gutzkow, "Zur Dorfpoesie," U. a. H., N.F. II, 64.

adornment of simple characters as Barfüßzele and commends one author of Dorfgeschichte for being "ohne romantischen oder philosophischen Flitter."¹ While granting the beauty of Mörike's work, Gutzkow objects to the old words, to the dead idea, the characters lacking life.² Halm is criticised for hunting for whatever is strange and unusual.³

In spite of Gutzkow's vehement attacks on the turning away from actual life, on the self-analysis, on the mediaeval interests, on the artificial, affected, untrue and unreal elements of romanticism he can still at times be warmly appreciative. In discussing Mörike he says:

Es ist an sich eine herrliche Sache mit der Romantik. Das blitzt, schimmert, das geht so treuherzig daher, das lehnt sich so traulich an die beste Gesellschaft unserer Literatur, an die alten Weisen, Kernigen Redewendungen, naiven Auffassungen.⁴

In referring to the old romanticism he admits that it does have "einen innigen Zusammenhang mit dem allgemeinen Geist der Zeit."⁵ One really fine tribute to it comes in the words, part of an article on Tieck,

Wer für die Anfänge der Tieck'schen Muse, für die ersten Klänge der neuen Romantik, die zauberhaft durch Deutschlands Wälder rauschte, kein Herz und kein Ohr hat, zeigt sich entweder aller poetischen Empfänglichkeit überhaupt bar oder zwingt sein Gemüt unter eine Principientyrannie, wo man zuletzt seine fünf gesunden Sinne zu brauchen verlernen muß.⁶

Realism Gutzkow once defined as the presentation of abso-

¹Gutzkow, "Für die Winterabende," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 32-384.

"Jacob Frey, Zwischen Alpen und Jura."

²Gutzkow, "Das Stuttgarter Hutzelmännlein," U. a. H., I, 735.

"Die Idee des Ganzen liegt todt da." Later Gutzkow adds that "die oft mit poetischer Prätension geschilderte Welt nicht zum Leben aufgeht, mit Maschinerie nur hüpft und springt."

³Gutzkow, "Friedrich Halm," U. a. H., N.F. II, 352.
"Könnte Friedrich Halm sich entschlieszen, ..."

⁴Gutzkow, "Das Stuttgarter Hutzelmännlein," U. a. H., I, 736.

⁵Gutzkow, "Unsere gegenwärtige Literatur," U. a. H., I, 399.

⁶Gutzkow, "Ludwig Tieck," U. a. H., I, 543.

lute reality.¹ In some cases the two terms, natural and real, are apparently used synonymously, as when Gutzkow speaks of nature gradually breaking through artificial barriers in French literature and, specifically, when he discusses the Dumas fils comedies where repellent material is handled with fine, striking naturalness. As Gutzkow speaks of Dumas' accurate pictures of actual conditions in Paris it would seem that here natural means real.²

There is the like confusion between natural and real in the review of Karl Frenzel's Die drei Grazien³ and H. B. Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin.⁴ Very rarely does Gutzkow employ the word "natural" in an uncomplimentary sense while he certainly uses "real" in this sense. He speaks sarcastically of the so-called naturwüchsige Apartheit.⁵ Natural here obviously indicates a literal, actual picture of what happens with the emphasis on or at least no palliation of the disagreeable or crude. Mostly the term natural, and certainly Gutzkow's acceptance of Goethe's interpretation of it, exclude any overweening emphasis on the brutal or sordid. Gutzkow attacks this realism because it pictures sordidness, crudity, evil, perversion, abnormality. This point has already been discussed with reference to the question of abnormality. He dislikes thoroughly what he calls daguerreotype reality. To explain or give more of a basis for his remarks he gives a brief history of it. Its protagonists wanted a more positive content than that afforded by the idealism of Schiller and Jean Paul, leading only to Utopias or dreaminess, and so they borrowed ideas of social reforms from the French genre-bild and the novels of Dickens. Then in German literature Hebel, Pestalozzi, Ulrich Hegner, Zschokke and J. Gotthelf contributed realistic material and Immermann put Westphalian actualism into his

¹Gutzkow, "Die Poesie des Geistes," U. a. H., N.F. II, 669. "Wir haben die Periode der Romantik gehabt, ..."

²Gutzkow, "Das Natürliche in der Literatur," U. a. H., II, 751-52.

³Gutzkow, "Karl Frenzel," U. a. H., D.F. II, 675.

⁴Gutzkow, "Onkel Tom's Hütte," U. a. H., I, 97-99.

⁵Gutzkow, "Deutsche Literatur im Auslande," U. a. H., III, 736.

Münchhausen. With the addition of the Dorfgeschichte and Häck-lander's Soldatenerinnerungen the material for realism was at hand. Gutzkow insists, at some length, that it is flat and uninteresting.¹ His most bitter attack on it comes in the review of Freytag's Soll und Haben. That will be discussed later in connection with Gutzkow's criteria for the novel but some of his assertions are of interest here, such as the following: Realism should not be sought in daily work alone, as its advocates believe, but in the thoughts and feelings of people. Freytag does not do that but treats only externals, thus making his book dry and uninteresting.² It is the same point which Gutzkow made before and made again that a realism confining itself to any one aspect of human life is not true realism or naturalness.

His criticism of Freytag is, only to a less degree, typical of others. To consider peasants, as such, as being of interest for the artist as Auerbach has done, was to start from a falsely real standpoint, but to idealize such material under the guise of realism was really the old romanticism and most reprehensible.³ In discussing Melchior Meyr's Dorfgeschichte though Gutzkow recognizes their fine qualities, he comes back to the same theme.

Solange wir uns nicht in der Theorie von dem Realismus befreit haben, wird alles, was in dieser Richtung geschaffen wird, nach kurzem, fesselndem Reiz zu bald verklingen.⁴

Personal antagonism undoubtedly lent fire to his denunciation of individuals, as Freytag, but there is also the resentment aroused by the triumphant progress of a movement, of which in certain respects he intensely disapproves and yet with some aspects of which he is reluctantly forced to agree. He becomes particularly emphatic over the authoritarianism of realism's advocates and re-

¹Gutzkow, "Realismus und Idealismus," U. a. H., N.F. II, 319.

²Gutzkow, "Soll und Haben," U. a. H., III, 574.

"Die Folge dieser glänzenden Vernünftigkeit und Tendenzlosigkeit ist die unendliche Nüchternheit ..."

³Gutzkow, "Zur Dorfpoesie," U. a. H., N.F. II, 64.

⁴Gutzkow, "Die 'realistischen' Erzähler," U. a. H., N.F. II, 270-72.

taliates with "arrogant realism" and "nothing perfect about it."¹ He is pleased to see works on the romantic period, even though he disliked its dreaming and eccentricities, because realism thought itself so important put on silly airs of self-sufficiency.²

The realism in which Gutzkow believes, as distinguished from that current at the time, is based on the entire nature of man, physical, mental and emotional, and is not to over-stress any one phase; it is to consider man in relation to his environment but keep an equipoise between the two elements; it is to have a central idea around which the work is built or toward which it moves and it is to be penetrated, or permeated by an idealism which exalts what Gutzkow calls the "Sonntag" phase of humanity, that is, the thoughts and feelings upon which is based any expression of the true and the beautiful.³

That brings up the question of realism as opposed to or united with idealism. Gutzkow is much concerned about the problem. At one time he asserted that German literature is the only one in which there is a deep cleft between the two.⁴ On more than one occasion he takes Goethe and Schiller as representatives of the two phases, Goethe the realist and Schiller the idealist. In this rather long and sometimes far from clear article Gutzkow tries to define the relationship of realism and idealism by saying that they are artistically distinct yet mutually complementary and of equal value in the court of the muses. He would have an idealism which arises out of or originates from naturalness and reality and which ought to be carried only so far as not to injure the essence or being of that reality. Realism in its view-

¹ Gutzkow, "Realismus und Idealismus," U. a. H., N.F. III, 319-20.

² Gutzkow, "Rahel Varnhagen," U. a. H., N.F. II, 575.
"Nicht, dass wir wieder dem Schwärmerischen ..."

³ Gutzkow, "Nur Schiller und Goethe?" U. a. H., N.F. V, 621-39.

Cf. Grenzboten, ed. by Gustav Freytag and Julian Schmidt (1853), I, 43-50.

Ibid., p. 45, "Das wirkliche Leben in seiner vollen Ausdehnung und in seiner Vielseitigkeit reicht nicht nur für die Kunst nicht aus, sondern er gehört gar nicht hinein."

Ibid., p. 46, "Ein jedes Kunstwerk lässt uns kalt, von dem wir nicht genau wissen oder empfinden, welchen Eindruck der Künstler damit machen, welche Stimmung er hervorrufen wollte."

⁴ Gutzkow, "Realismus und Idealismus," U. a. H., N.F. II, 319-20.

ing of life and the visible world should be ever conscious of the goal set by art, of a directing idea. "Den Realismus zur Idee zu erheben ist schön und gibt Poeten im Geiste Goethe's." Gutzkow considers Jeremias Gotthelf's Uli, der Knecht and to a very high degree Hebbel's poem Mutter und Kind examples of such realism. The two, realism and idealism should not be pieced together in one work.¹ In a review of A. V. Svoboda's book on aesthetics Gutzkow comments that any one suspecting anything of the true being of art will agree with Svoboda in seeing the union of the two so-called contrasts, realism and idealism, in all truly great painters and artists.

To give exactly Gutzkow's views on natural and unnatural, real and ideal offers decided difficulty. He upholds the natural, the fresh, the spontaneous, whatever is based on the whole nature of man but rigidly excludes the unnatural, the perverted, twisted or abnormal and exceptions to this stand are rare. His use of the terms natural and real, his definition of and attitude toward the relation of real and ideal are decidedly complicated on the one hand by his apparently reluctant recognition of the value and necessity of the real and yet dislike for it on the other hand by his very strong inclination toward idealizing but, with very few exceptions, his keen recognition of its pitfalls. The following comes fairly close to summing up his views:

Es kommt jetzt wahrlich darauf an, von dieser an sich höchst achtbaren und lobenswerthen Erkenntnis des ewigen Werths der Alltäglichkeit sich auch wieder aufschwingen zu können zu lichter Höhen und einem feinern Lebens- und Denkensäther, den es denn doch wol, trotz dieser Realität, immer noch geben musz.²

B. Specific Criteria Applied to Certain Literary Forms

When Gutzkow writes of poetry the question arises immediately whether he is using the term "poetry" to indicate matter in verse form or whether he is employing it in the way the romanticists did. In the latter sense it would include all that is

¹Gutzkow, "Die Poesie in der Malerei," U. a. H., D.F. II, 735-36.

²Gutzkow, "Wahrnehmungen," U. a. H., N.F. I, 192.

beautiful, noble and exalted in human experience, whether expressed in prose or verse. As in the earlier periods¹ there are some passages in which Gutzkow ranks poetry, considered as material in verse form, below prose.² Occasionally there is a passage exalting poetry in the romantic sense.³ In most cases however Gutzkow appears to employ the term poetry to designate material in verse form.⁴ Poetry originates in a poetic intoxication,⁵ an opinion that recalls a somewhat similar view expressed in the Forum.⁶ Gutzkow quotes Goethe to the effect that no real object is unpoetical as long as the poet knows how to use it.⁷ He himself makes a much more elaborate statement of the same idea.⁸ At another time he specifies certain forces which affect literature—

¹ See Chap. III, pp. 17-18.

² Gutzkow, "Dichter," U. a. H., D.F. II, 675.

"Gebt der Thatsache Raum, dass für unsere Literatur Verse nur noch eine secundäre Bedeutung haben!"

Gutzkow, "Nur Schiller und Goethe?" U. a. H., N.F. V, 638-40.

"Jean Paul ist nun aber in der That im gewissen Sinne ... der Vater der ganzen neuen Literatur von Bedeutung geworden.

"... er ist es geworden z. B. durch seinen durchgängigen Gebrauch der Prosa, einer Dichtform, deren unwiderleglich dennoch poetische Wirkung die Notwendigkeit des Verses für den Begriff des Dichters bei uns ein für allemal ausgeschlossen hat."

³ Gutzkow, "Die realistischen Erzähler," U. a. H., N.F. II, 271.

"Poesie, wie wir sie verstehen, Durchdringung u. Durcharbeitung des Gegebenen zur Idealität, findet sich in diesem Roman wenig ..."

⁴ Gutzkow, "Ueber Poesie und Poetenthum," U. a. H., I, 487.

"Die Kunst des Dichtens ist das Vereinigen des Weiten und Breiten auf eine bestimmte selbstgewählte Begrenzung. Diese Begrenzung sind die Dichtformen."

⁵ Gutzkow, "Kaulbach's Zeichnungen zu Shakespeare," U. a. H., N.F. II, 79.

"Das Bild ist concipirt in jener poetischen Trunkenheit, welcher auch die Dichtung ihr Entstehen verdankt." Shakespearean influence may also be responsible.

⁶ Gutzkow, "Wolfgang Menzel und die über ihn ergangenen Urtheile," Forum, I (1831), 75.

Gutzkow declares that: "nicht wozu ihr die Natur macht, ist Dichtung, sondern wozu sie Euch macht."

⁷ Gutzkow, "Schlachtenpoesie," U. a. H., N.F. I, 799.

"Wenn es wahr ist, ..."

⁸ Gutzkow, "Ueber Poesie und Poetenthum," U. a. H., I, 487.

religion, Christianity, country, art, antiquity, history, myth and now natural sciences.¹ Gutzkow dislikes mediaeval material as some² used it but thinks Wagner added to his opera by employing it.³ He objects to the oriental influence because oriental authors do not understand what beauty really is, lack individualizing and have no feeling for history.⁴ He makes some sarcastic remarks about using the classical writers Catullus, Propertius as sources of supply.⁵ Gutzkow believes in the close relation of poetry with religion and philosophy. "Der Dichter ist Seher, die Poesie Religion."⁶ In another article he declares that all great poets, Sophocles, Shakespeare, Calderon, were inclined to abstraction and philosophy.⁷ In this same discussion Gutzkow maintains that it is immaterial whether the poet first sees an object and writes about it or seeks first to express a feeling and uses some

487. "Einen Dichter nennt man dasjenige schriftstellerische Talent, welches der stummen Sprache der Natur und des Lebens denjenigen Ausdruck zu geben vermag, der zu gleicher Zeit dem Wesen der Natur und des Lebens vollkommen entsprechend ist und in seiner Wiedergabe Wohlgefallen erweckt."

¹Gutzkow, "Poesie der Natur," U. a. H., III, 302.
"Solche Einflüsse waren; ..."

²Gutzkow, "Ueber Poesie und Poetenthem," U. a. H., I,
489. "Der Eine vielleicht eine Null als Mensch, ... hämmert im Laufe von einigen Jahren eine Anzahl Balladen, die den Ton des Mittelalters nachahmen; ..."

³Gutzkow, "Wolfram v. Eschenbach," U. a. H., N.F. III,
272.

⁴Gutzkow, "Die Erneuerung der deutschen Poesie," U. a. H.,
N.F. III, 573-74.

⁵Gutzkow, "Die Poesie im philologischen Stadium,"
U. a. H., II, 767-68.

⁶Ibid., p. 288.

Gutzkow, "Natur und Bildung," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 446-47.
"Denn, wenn schon zugegeben ist, dass der Poesie eine religiöse Weltanschauung zu Grunde liegen soll ..."

⁷Gutzkow, "Ueber Poesie und Poetenthem," U. a. H., I,
488. "Alle grossen Dichter hatten ..."

Gutzkow, "Die Poesie eine Königin," U. a. H., II, 441.
"Der Dichter ist zugleich Philosoph."

some concrete objects for such expression. The simplest and most direct comment made about the supply source of poetry is that the best poems are those linked to actual events in the poet's life, those that have the taste of real experience.¹

Not only the material for poetry but the author's interpretation of it and attitude toward it are brought out in a brief resumé of the history and theory of poetry in Germany beginning with the classical period. Both the classical and romantic poets expressed in their poems emotions and ideas of their times.² With the end of the Napoleonic war there came a change, a transition period when really great literature ceased and a vital new literature had not yet appeared. The Bewegungsliteratur, beginning in 1830, tried to revive literature and tried to make "die Poesie zum Ausdruck der allgemein die Zeit bewegenden Ideen."³ However development was hindered by lack of support from great talent, by the remains of older literature, by government persecution, and by difficulties of publication. Lack of content is now joined to finish of form. This content is not gained by borrowing ideas from some author (Shakespeare for instance). There must be poetic power and experience with life. There is danger of too close adherence to the real, destroying the ideal. There is content whenever the author uses his material to complete his own development and prove something that is not a part of the chosen material but is vital to society at large or to himself.⁴ This review really involves all the general criteria Gutzkow sets up for literature in general. Poetry is to be closely allied with real life, that is, the sane, normal life, but not so closely bound to it as to endanger idealism. It is to prove something that is not a part of the original material. That certainly appears to be a Young Germany idea.

¹Gutzkow, "Eine wie Alle," U. a. H., II, 352.

²Gutzkow, "Unsere gegenwärtige Literatur," U. a. H., I, 399. "In der classischen Periode sowol wie in der romantischen ..."

³Ibid., "Sie wurde von der Bewegungsliteratur, ..."

⁴Gutzkow, "Unsere gegenwärtige Literatur," U. a. H., I, 400. "Eine Literatur bekommt nur erst dann Gehalt, wenn die Dichter die Werke, ..."

Gutzkow's conception of ideals for poetry becomes a little clearer when the field is divided. In a criticism of Robert Waldmüller's poems he declares that one class includes the clearly defined, vivid and original description of the poet's material and the other the unpretentious expression of some consecrated moment in a human life. Later in the article Gutzkow defines a poem: "Letzteres [Gedicht] ist die abgeschlossene feste, sicher umgrenzte Gestaltung einer objektiven Thatsache, die nur Das ist, was sie sein will und weder einer Einleitung noch eines Anfangs bedarf, weder einen Uebergang bildet zu Nachfolgendem, noch selbst das Nachklingen eines Vorangegangenen ist."¹ This definition seems to exclude the second class of poetry. Gutzkow insists Waldmüller's poems do not fulfill the requirements as set forth in the above definition. The poems are too vague and formless. He admits that there are people who will enjoy sinking themselves into the moods and emotions of the author and adds that there are echte Perlen in the collection. As evidenced in this same article Gutzkow was so aroused over what he considered the shallow, aimless poetry of the time that he was determined to have fixed requirements and hence formulated the definition given above.

Gutzkow's emphasis on prose also appears to militate against pure lyrics. Yet in the last paragraph of this review he is so understandingly appreciative of poems full of emotion that that, combined with the definition in the first paragraph, suggests that Gutzkow is not really so opposed to lyric poetry as might be concluded from some of his comments. The fact that Gutzkow devotes more time to the criticism of lyric poetry than any other kind of poetry presumably means that so much more of that was submitted to him and yet he need not necessarily have reviewed it all. Such remarks as, that there are too many lyrics occur fairly often. The material for lyric poetry differs from that of other types in that it is in the author himself, his feelings, sufferings, joys. A great lyricist possesses a certain universality, knows how to evaluate historical happenings.² The emotional basis is stressed again and again.³ Gutzkow is in-

¹Gutzkow, "Robert Waldmüller," U. a. H., N.F. II, 560.

²Gutzkow, "Lyrische Poesien," U. a. H., N.F. III, 480.
"Er mag versunken sein in sein eigenes Leben und ..."

³Gutzkow, "Rudolf Gottschall," U. a. H., N.F. III, 271.

tensely critical of lyrical poets, of the lack of substance in their work, the peculiar danger of this type, "Unser Reimgeklöngel, unser lyrisches Dichterlockenschütteln ..." ¹ Later in the same article he remarks that the lyricists are unconcerned about ordinary material: "sie sind nur Detailhändler mit Gold, Silber und Juwelen." In addition to comments on the material of lyric poetry Gutzkow stresses the intimate connection of such poetry with music, "Stimmung ist das Princip der Lyrik; der Stimmung verwandt ist Musik und Melodie." ² Again, "Ein lyrisches Gedicht ist immer ein Gesangstück, es braucht darum nicht componirt zu sein." ³ In a criticism of W. Müller's poems he approves of the simpler poems most of all. They are so fresh and singable. Eichendorff is another lyric poet whose poems should be sung. ⁴ Gutzkow dislikes any lack of sincerity, any artificiality, any hackneyed phrases, any over-use of figures of speech. ⁵ It is rather interesting that Gutzkow does not pay much attention to questions of metre.

There is very little on dramatic poetry, as distinct from the discussion of drama. In a criticism of a history of music Gutzkow maintains that the dramatist's "Gestaltungskraft" gives the dramatist a higher rank than the lyric poet. "Dem Lyriker gehört die Gegenwart ... , dem Dramatiker, dem gewaltigen Epiker in Wahrheit erst die Zukunft." ⁶ There is some material on didactic

271. "Unerlöszlicher Reiz einer lyrischen Natur musz das ausströmende, begeisterte, schrankenlose Gefühl sein."

¹Gutzkow, "Dichter," U. a. H., D.F. II, 674-76.

²Gutzkow, "Alfred Tennyson," U. a. H., II, 368.

³Gutzkow, "Die Poesie eine Königin," U. a. H., II, 438-43.

⁴Gutzkow, "Wilhelm Müller," U. a. H., N.F. III, 528.

"In der That gibt es neben Eichendorff kaum einen zweiten, der sangbarer gedichtet hat, als Müller."

⁵Gutzkow, "Meisner über Heine," U. a. H., N.F. I, 704.

"Der mangelnde sittliche Mensch ... Selbst im Buche der Lieder ist das Meiste gesucht ..."

Gutzkow, "Gedichtsammlungen," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 192. Hamerling needs to avoid only, "... Ueberfülle von Bildern und hochklingenden Beiwörtern, ..."

⁶Gutzkow, "Zur Geschichte der Musik," U. a. H., D.F. II, 892. "Sie scheint zu bestätigen, dass in der Tonkunst wie in der Dichtkunst ..."

poetry. If the poem is composed for didactic aims Gutzkow disapproves of it but if "Die Wahrheit sich zur Schönheit verklärt" then the poem is satisfactory. Rückert and L. Schefer have proved this.¹ While Gutzkow declares that political poetry, such as W. Müller's is out-moded and that he hopes poets will never again need to turn into political writers,² he quotes with warm approval a statement from Rosenkranz's Geschichte der Poesie. "Die Dichter, die uns zum tiefern Bewusstsein unsers Lebens bringen, sind nicht nur grosse Lehrmeister, sie sind auch wahrhafte Priester des Menschengeschlechts." Gutzkow wonders how many poets are priests of humanity and adds that time guards itself from Tendenz poets as it does from prophets.³ Evidently Gutzkow has no hope of political poets becoming Priester des Menschengeschlechts. This discussion is an interesting illustration of how Gutzkow's tendency to idealize affects his desire to reform humanity. Exalted reform poetry is great poetry, kept on an ordinary level it is to be discarded. A striking discussion of this desire to idealize or, possibly, passion for idealizing his material is found in Gutzkow's approving criticism of Melchior Meyr's Die Poesie des Geistes.⁴

This discussion of poetry takes up the main topics; definitions and sources of poetry, very brief history of poetry for the very last part of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century the classification of poetry, lyric poetry, other types of poetry. Gutzkow generally defines poetry as material suitable for poetry in verse form. Occasionally he employs the term poetry to cover all that is beautiful, true or exalted with no reference to form. Poetry originates in poetic intoxication, may use real objects as material, may draw from such sources as religion, natural sciences, mediaeval, classical and oriental literature. It is closely akin to religion and philosophy. Through the classical and romantic periods German poetry reflected great

¹Gutzkow, "Adolf Peters," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 480.
 "Das aber auch das Lehrgedicht ..."

²Gutzkow, "Wilhelm Müller," U. a. H., N.F. III, 528.
 "Wie alle politischen Gedichte ..."

³Gutzkow, "Natur-Kunst-und Tendenzpoesie," U. a. H., N.F. I, 240.

⁴Gutzkow, "Die Poesie des Geistes," U. a. H., N.F. II, 669-72.

contemporary currents of thought but after about 1815 it grew less vital and the literary movement of the 1830's, due to lack of support by great authors and to governmental suppression, was not able to revive poetry. It now has very little content. Of the two general classifications of poetry Gutzkow prefers the description of material to the expression of feeling, since the former imposes greatly needed regulations. Lyric poetry is drawn from the author's own feelings and emotions and so runs the risk of being vague and ill-defined. The lesser poets do not reach out beyond themselves, do not make their poems universal. Lyric poetry and music are very closely allied. Lack of sincerity on the part of the author, hackneyed or artificial expressions, and too many figures of speech are common faults. Dramatic poetry is more creative than lyric and will outline the latter. Didactic and Tendenz poetry may be fine poetry, if the moral or Tendenz is of universal application and expressed in a beautiful fashion.

In the first year of the Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd Gutzkow analyzes three types of prose fiction, novel, Novelle and story, and differentiates between them. I shall take up first the Novelle, then the novel. I shall not discuss separately the short story, that is, die Erzählung, inasmuch as Gutzkow, though he distinguishes it from novel and Novelle, pays scant attention to it and, in addition, uses the word Erzählung mostly as a general term for narratives of all kinds.¹

Gutzkow's definition of Novelle is vague and confusing but may be summed up by saying that a Novelle is a story dealing with the development of human fates through conditions of a specific nature such as the customs of a village. It depends on an accidental occurrence. Gutzkow's directions for writing Novellen may aid slightly in clearing up his definition:

¹Gutzkow, "Roman, Novelle, Erzählung," U. a. H., I, 800. Gutzkow's neglect of the short story seems to be due to his lack of respect for it as a work of art. "Die Erzählung ist die Entwicklung von Menschenschicksalen durch die Bedingungen ihrer selbst. Sie schlieszt die Nebenbedingung, irgend etwas Universelles oder etwas Particuläres noch besonders zu Anschauung zu bringen, aus. ... Der Roman und die Novelle stehen höher als die Erzählung, denn sie lassen keine andere als eine künstlerische Lösung zu, während die Erzählung nur die Merkmale der Glaubwürdigkeit und Folgerichtigkeit an sich zu tragen hat."

Wer Novellen schreiben will, musz zuvörderst die Anschauung irgend einer anekdotisch auffallenden Widersinnigkeit haben, einer erschütternden Zufallsbegegnung im ernsten Genre, einer anmutig-komischen im heitern. Um dies Factum ist dann der Faden der Entwicklung anzulegen und das im Zusammenhang Sinnige des vereinzelt Widersinnigen einschmeichelnd und überzeugend darzustellen.¹

Hettner's definition of the Novelle, which Mitchell commends as the clearest and best in the first half of the century, brings out very clearly two main points which Gutzkow attempts to explain. The Novelle is limited to a single, definite occurrence, which must stand out vividly. A sudden, unexpected event comes to pass and thereby the whole course of action is changed, new conceptions arise and difficulties are solved.² Gutzkow, as often in technical questions, knew enough about the problem but was certainly not successful in formulating a clear statement of it. Both earlier and later discussions of any definition of Novelle are vague and unsatisfactory.

Probability of plot is emphasized as well as its harmony with characters and background. There must be enough of a plot to make the Novelle interesting. The Dorfgeschichte incurs Gutzkow's hostile criticism for poverty and triteness of intention.³ There should not however be too many details, details

¹Ibid., pp. 799-800.

"Die Novelle ist die Entwicklung von Menschenschicksalen durch Bedingungen partikulärer Natur. ... Die Novelle beruht, was das Schicksal und die Führung unseres Erdenlebens anlangt, auf dem Zufall. Die Laune des Zufalls ist die wesentliche Triebfeder und, mechanisch gesprochen, die Unruhe der Novelle."

²R. M. Mitchell, Heyse and His Predecessors in the Theory of the Novelle, pp. 74-75. Hettner's definition, as quoted, begins, "Das Wesen der Novelle besteht darin, dass, während der Roman die Totalität eines ganzen Welt- und Zeitbildes vor uns aufrollt, die Novelle ihrerseits sich auf einen einzelnen, grossen oder kleinen, Vorfall beschränkt ..." Hettner, Die romantische Schule in ihrem inneren Zusammenhange mit Goethe und Schiller 1850, pp. 196 f. Mitchell takes the Gutzkow quotations from Vom Baume der Erkenntnis. Denksprüche 2. Auflage 1869, 209 ff. The article first appeared in U. a. H., I (1853), 799-800.

³Gutzkow, "Die Dorfpoesie," U. a. H., N.F. II, 64.

Gutzkow asserts modern authors like Auerbach are essentially as romantic as Rousseau and Saint-Pierre. "Man hat damit andere Requisiten, Decorationen und Versetzstücke für die dichtende Romantik geschaffen, der Kern der Poesie ist in jeder Form derselbe." Pages 270-72, "Die 'realistischen' Erzähler." Pages 93-95, "Verirrungen der Dorfgeschichte."

which were extraneous and unnecessary. He commends warmly the Jewish stories by Kompert because of their odd and original features.¹ There is possibly an implied criticism of the stories being ended so easily and pleasantly. The plot should be definitely formed.² Paul Heyse's smoothing and rounding of all roughness Gutzkow praises just as he criticises E. Meyer for not doing it.³ Wilhelm Hamm is rebuked for not making his conclusion grow out of his story and others for not having any conclusion.⁴ Gutzkow approves of the rapidity of the action in Theodor Mägge's work.⁵ Gutzkow rarely balances specifically plot with characters and background but in Frenzel's case he notes that the action is not as strong as the rest of the story. Clemens Steyrer spreads and repeats his material too much.⁶

Gutzkow's discussion of characters in the various works he reviews centers chiefly about the ever present problem of realism and idealism. The Dorfgeschichte claims the major part of his attention. The characters are described with many appallingly realistic details, which detract from the naturalness of the characters and the rapidity of the action. They have feelings and emotional reactions far beyond those of the peasant.⁷ He admires Kompert's idealized characters, basically peasants but made into something finer through a poetic medium. Here background, characters and action were harmonious.⁸ While he criticises

¹Gutzkow, "Neue Geschichten aus dem Ghetto," U. a. H., N.F. V, 447-48.

²Gutzkow, "Die 'realistischen' Erzähler," U. a. H., N.F. II, 270-72.

³Gutzkow, "Paul Heyse," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 286-88.

⁴Gutzkow, "Die Blasierten," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 47.

Gutzkow, "Die 'realistischen' Erzähler," U. a. H., N.F. II, 270.

Gutzkow, "Neue Geschichten aus dem Ghetto," U. a. H., N.F. V, 448.

⁵Gutzkow, "Romane und Erzählungen," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 432.

⁶Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungsliteratur," U. a. H., D.F. II, 476. Review of Clemens Steyrer's Durch Irren Zur Einsicht.

⁷Gutzkow, "Zur Dorfpoesie," U. a. H., N.F. II, 64.

⁸Gutzkow, "Neue Romane und Novellen," U. a. H., N.F. V, 447-48.

Theodor Mägge unfavorably for over-realism Gutzkow pays due tribute to the author's redeeming humor.¹

With reference to background Gutzkow specifies chiefly that it is to be in harmony with character and plot. He dislikes both the extremely romantic and the extremely realistic; he wants only the natural. The background should not obtrude into the story. He commends Karl Frenzel for special talent in linking nature descriptions with the heart of the narrative² and Paul Heyse for his charming nature descriptions.³

Gutzkow does not really analyze the style of any Novelle author as such. He speaks approvingly of Keller as attaining plastic and dramatic effects with very few words.⁴ Frenzel's style is so fine that he makes one forget the subject.⁵ Auerbach is rebuked for the dialektische Rothwelsch of his language, for exaggerated expressions such as spinnen for sprechen.⁶ Heyse's style he admires as clear cut and harmonious.⁷

These then are Gutzkow's basic requirements in judging a Novelle. It must start with a specific event, either real or fictitious, that is contrary to ordinary ideas. It may be either gay or sad. It must be developed with the aid of humor so that what was really the fate of a person might seem to be only an accident. The plot should be simple, definite, be ample enough to develop the story to a logical conclusion with fair rapidity. There should be no extraneous and unnecessary details. Plot, characters and background should be in harmony. Characters should not be absolutely realistic, idealism and realism should be fused. The background ought not to obtrude into the story. Fine nature descriptions are approved. Gutzkow objects to an overly fine style

¹Gutzkow, "Romane und Erzählungen," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 432.

²Gutzkow, "Neue Romane und Novellen," U. a. H., N.F. V, 447-48.

³Gutzkow, "Paul Heyse," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 286-88.

⁴Gutzkow, "Die Leute von Seldwyla," U. a. H., N.F. I, 591.

⁵Gutzkow, "Neue Romane und Novellen," U. a. H., N.F. V, 447-48.

⁶Gutzkow, "Verirrungen der Dorfgeschichte," U. a. H., N.F. III, 95.

⁷Gutzkow, "Paul Heyse," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 286-88.

and to foreign words. Naturally in Gutzkow's judgment the author's attitude is very important. Gutzkow objects decidedly for instance to Paul Heyse's ultra-objective attitude and Keller's bitterness and coldness.

Gutzkow's discussion of the novel is of particular interest since his creative work in the fifties is principally in the field of the novel and Novelle. In one article "Roman, Novelle, Erzählung"¹ he defines and analyzes these three types of fiction, though he devotes most of his attention to the Novelle and tale.

Roman nennt man die Entwicklung von Menschenschicksalen durch Bedingungen universeller Natur. Solche Bedingungen sind z. B. die Geschichte (geschichtlicher Roman), die Sitten eines Landes, die Sitten einer Zeit, die Stimmungen einer Zeit, die Voraussetzungen der Religion, der Philosophie, der Kunst oder eines ganzen Standes oder einer Familie, einer Tradition, u. s. w.²

To Gutzkow the basic difference between the novel and Novelle lies in the distinction between general and particular. He notes the following types as illustrating it: Kunstroman, Künstler-novelle, Sittenromane, Dorfnovelle.³ A year later in Die Poesie eine Königin Gutzkow gives another definition:

Die reine geschichtlich-poetische Erzählung ist der Roman, welche uns eine Galerie von Lebensscenen vorführt.⁴

Not as dry as the Geschichtserzählung, the novel on the other hand does not attain the interest of the scenes of a drama. That is compensated for by the use of field common to both poetry and painting, i.e. landscape and daily life pictures.⁵

In one of a series of literary articles called "Vom deutschen Parnasz"⁶ Gutzkow sums up briefly the history of the novel, beginning with the classical period. Goethe is the only

¹Gutzkow, "Roman, Novelle, Erzählung," U. a. H., I, 799-800.

²Ibid., p. 799.

³Ibid., p. 800.

⁴Gutzkow, "Die Poesie eine Königin," U. a. H., II, 440.

⁵Ibid., "Das zweite, der Poesie ..."

⁶Gutzkow, "Vom deutschen Parnasz," U. a. H., II, 286-88.

author of that time whose work is still considered as a model. The romanticists told stories well; Tieck, Novalis, Brentano, Arnim, Kleist and Eichendorff could create each a world of his own. E. T. A. Hoffmann excelled all in dealing with a strange, unreal world. Gutzkow says of the romanticists that "Sie waren sehr bedeutend in der Stimmung, dieser Probe einer poetischen Erfassung des Romans,"¹ but insists that

die grosse Aufgabe, die gerade dem Roman, als der eigentlichen poetischen Form der Neuzeit, vorbehalten scheint, blieb immer noch ungelöst. Das Leben in seiner Fülle, die Charaktere in ihrer Wahrheit, die Situationen in ihrem fesselnden Reiz blieben noch als neue Stufen fernerer Entwicklung des Romans unbetreten.²

Gutzkow suggests that there are contributions from other literary types. After mentioning the Goethe, Tieck and Jean Paul disciples, Gutzkow comments briefly on the influence of Walter Scott, Cooper, Bulwer, George Sand, Balzac, Boz, and Eugène Sue, and adds, "Erst die neueste Zeit scheint Romantaleute von grösserer Selbstständigkeit hervorgebracht zu haben."³ For a long time the educated public preferred the Goethe-Tieck school and numerous authors as Steffens, Rehfuess, Immermann, Alexis, H. König, Posgaru, Julius Mosen, F. von Uechtritz adhered to it. Women novelists, not those of the Strickstrumpfunterhaltung variety, did the same. Schopenhauer, Huber, Hanke, Tarnow used basic ideas of Goethe's Wahlverwandschaften.⁴ The countess Hahn-Hahn was the most original of the group and with her poetic capacity and knowledge of the world could vary the Wahlverwandschaft motif, until age dulled her work.⁵ Palzow and Frederike Bremer set a new style with sentimental stories and those of family life. The growth of the democratic spirit caused profound changes in the novel. The Swiss contributed greatly to the use of dialect and of folk types. Pestalozzi, Ulrich Hegner and Hebel aided this movement. Clemens Brentano brought in the folk element so much that he practically put his work in the Dorfgeschichte class.⁶ Immerman changed from

¹Ibid., p. 286. "Die spätere romantische Schule ..."

²Ibid.

³Ibid., "Es ist die Aufgabe ..."

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., p. 287.

his often strained poetic endeavors to a delineation of the Westphalian peasant. Auerbach continued the changed trend, when he took his material from the Black Forest. Jeremias Gotthelf's work formed the climax of this movement, which freshened and enlivened the literature which had been for some time previously devitalized and dehumanized.

Was richtig an der Dorfgeschichte ist, ist nur Das, was auch Stadt-, Gesellschaft-, ja sogenannten Salongeschichten gleichen Werth geben könnte, nämlich Wahrheit, Treue, Glaubhaftigkeit.¹

Gutzkow believes Germans tend to become blind devotees of any movement and so exaggerate it to a fault. Therein lies the danger of the Dorfgeschichte, i.e. the danger of photographic, uninspired reality. One of the most interesting parts of this article is Gutzkow's discussion of the Nebeneinander concept applied to novels. He wants to bring a cross-section of life to his readers and so, instead of narrating events in time order, he would show what is happening everywhere at the same time. Since social life is a concert and the author a conductor, the Nacheinander form may be needed at first but only then.² That Gutzkow early developed his theories is indicated by the use of the term Nebeneinander in Briefe eines Narren, an eine Närrin, 1832.³ At that time Gutzkow was thinking of applying the theory to his history. At another time Gutzkow explained that authors describing modern warfare were doing as Haller did in nature descriptions, employing the Nacheinander when the Nebeneinander would have been far better.⁴

Gutzkow's objections to romanticism were discussed in one of the preceding sections.⁵ In giving the history of the novel, as in the case of Hoffmann, he again expresses his disapproval of material for novels which is in and of itself romantic. While Gutzkow insists that his condemnation of the abnormal, the crim-

¹Ibid., p. 287.

²Ibid., p. 288.

³Gutzkow, Briefe e. N., p. 182.

"Ich sage, die Gleichzeitigkeit, das Nebeneinander musz das Hauptziel der Darstellung bleiben."

⁴Gutzkow, "Hackländer's Novellen," U. a. H., III, 127.

⁵See Chap. V, A.

inal or depraved was one of the manner of treatment rather than of the material itself, he condemns the latter also. Frenzel is too fine a nature to employ the class of people, vagabonds, whom he does in Die drei Grazien.² Alfred Meiszner should not use a world weary Don Juan in Der Freiherr von Kostium.³ Both Julie Burow and L. Schücking are rebuked for pictures of immorality.⁴ Thackeray's use of the depraved element of society arouses Gutzkow's indignation.⁵

Of course the fact that the Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd is a family magazine may have influenced Gutzkow, but in his earlier criticisms, i.e. in some of those dealing with Hebbel's plays,⁶ he manifests the same attitude as now. His defense of Wally contains an indignant rejection of the charge of immorality.⁷ Not only the immoral character but the cynical, frivolous one as Fink in Freytag's Soll und Haben,⁸ the sentimental or prudish as in H. B. Stowe's Die Maiblume⁹ incurs his vigorous condemnation. In the case of Freytag's novel Gutzkow adds the devastating criticism that Fink is very much like the author who created him.¹⁰ Gutzkow uses some of Thackeray's characters as representatives of the flippant, cynical dandy type which he abhors.¹¹ A photographic

638. ¹Gutzkow, "Nur Schiller und Goethe?" U. a. H., N.F. V, "Er ist es nicht deshalb, ..."

²Gutzkow, "Karl Frenzel," U. a. H., D.F. II, 675-76.

³Gutzkow, "Alfred Meiszner," U. a. H., N.F. III, 320.

⁴Gutzkow, "Zur Unterhaltung," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 800.

⁵Gutzkow, "Thackeray," U. a. H., D.F. II, 320.

⁶See Chap. III, B. 3.

⁷Gutzkow, Wally, die Zweiflerin in Vergangene Tage (Frankfurt a. M., 1852), Preface p. xxii.

⁸Gutzkow, "Ein neuer Roman," U. a. H., III, 560.

⁹Gutzkow, "Die Maiblume von Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe," U. a. H., I, 446.

¹⁰Gutzkow, "Ein neuer Roman," U. a. H., III, 560.

¹¹Ibid.

type realism produces characters of which Gutzkow thoroughly disapproves. While that is brought out more often in connection with the Dorfgeschichte both Freytag¹ and Ludwig² are criticised for clinging too closely to the every day world. Gutzkow makes up the term Pickwick Club from Dickens' Pickwick Papers, uses it to denote literal realism and suggests that a new muse, to be called Pickwick Club, should be added to the nine muses so that she may preside over this new literature.³ Gutzkow's attitude toward realism has already been discussed. He criticises characters who do not fit into the story. Nettenmair, the father in Ludwig's Zwischen Himmel und Erde really belongs in one of Calderon's plays.⁴ Freytag also disregards the needed harmony of character and background in Soll und Haben.⁵ Although Gutzkow uses the term "spiritual anatomist" approvingly with reference to Otto Ludwig⁶ he dislikes extremely the undue use of what he calls "Zergliederung des Herzens und der Gefühle."⁷ In a criticism of Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen Gutzkow praises the author for harmony of characters and background. While Gutzkow considers the normal characters good, he is most enthusiastic about Spielhagen's presentation of problematical individuals as affected by conditions from 1818-1848.

Wie phantastisch daher auch einige der Hauptgestalten des Spielhagen'schen Romans als Typen dieser problematischen Naturen auf den ersten Anblick erscheinen mögen, wie der junge Philolog O. Stein, ... so stehen sie dennoch auf durchaus glaubhaftem Boden.⁸

¹Ibid., pp. 558-77.

²Gutzkow, "Die 'realistischen' Erzähler," U. a. H., N.F. II, 270-71.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Gutzkow, "Ein neuer Roman," U. a. H., III, 573.

⁶Gutzkow, "Die 'realistischen' Erzähler," U. a. H., N.F. II, 270.

⁷Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungslectüre," U. a. H., N.F. III, 80.

⁸Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungsliteratur," U. a. H., D.F. II, 175.

Gutzkow approves highly the definite characterization of individuals by Ludwig Rosen in Der Buchenhof.¹ Psychological motivation must be reasonable, otherwise there will be little left to the story.² The characters must show an inner development, not merely the outer one evident in some of Luise Otto's work.³ Freytag incurs Gutzkow's unfavorable criticism for lack of spiritual development of the four women in Soll und Haben.⁴ According to Gutzkow an author should know in real life the people whom he is attempting to represent in fiction. Thus when H. B. Stowe describes a business man in Uncle Tom's Cabin, the result is poor, but the people taken by her from life in home or church are splendidly characterized, they are alive.⁵ Gutzkow criticises Cooper and Marryat adversely for creating type characters such as Leather-stocking and then using them repeatedly.⁶

The action in a novel should originate naturally from the meeting of the characters and proceed smoothly, logically to an inevitable conclusion.⁷ Episodes introduced should form integral parts of the plot. While the different parts of the plot should be of such a kind and so joined as to produce an harmonious effect, they should have sufficient variety and follow one another rapidly enough to sustain the reader's interest.⁹ Gutzkow criticises

¹Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungslectüre," U. a. H., N.F. III, 80.

²Gutzkow, "Vom deutschen Parnasz," U. a. H., II, 176.

³Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungslectüre," U. a. H., N.F. III, 64.

⁴Gutzkow, "Ein neuer Roman," U. a. H., III, 573.

⁵Gutzkow, "Onkel Tom's Hütte," U. a. H., I, 98-99.

⁶Gutzkow, "Die Welt der Träume," U. a. H., I, 304.

⁷Gutzkow, "Zwei Gegenstücke zu 'Eritis sicut Deus,'" U. a. H., N.F. II, 432.

Gutzkow, "Frauenromane," U. a. H., N.F. II, 447-48.

Gutzkow, "Ein neuer Roman," U. a. H., III, 573.

⁸Gutzkow, "Onkel Tom's Hütte," U. a. H., I, 99.

Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungslectüre," U. a. H., III, 207.

⁹Gutzkow, "Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert im Roman geschildert," U. a. H., III, 335.

Gutzkow, "Die Kunst des Lebens," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 125-27.

Freytag's Soll und Haben sharply for its lack of dramatic scenes.¹ The conclusion as well as the whole structure of a narrative should be definitely limited.² Gutzkow recognizes different types of conflicts. In Ludwig's Zwischen Himmel und Erde³ the clashing forces are ideals of love and honor. In Spielhagen's Problematische Naturen⁴ the world within the human being is opposed to the social and physical world. To judge by the enthusiastic commendation given the book Gutzkow prefers this type of conflict to others. He has no patience with one involving petty motives as in Freytag's Soll und Haben.⁵ More than once Gutzkow condemns any cleft between the type of conflict and the environment.⁶ Although he fights against literal realism, Gutzkow wants the action based on actual life but rising to ideal heights.⁷

Gutzkow's attack on certain forms of wit is determined by his idealizing trend, his intense crusading earnestness. The flippant or cynical wit in Thackeray's novels, such characters as Fink in Soll und Haben he resents as emphatically as he had earlier the romantic irony of Heine. Since Dickens' humor is neither romantic nor cynical, Gutzkow can give it a rather grudging admiration for its aid in helping to produce a "reflected reality."⁸ He concedes humor to Raabe.⁹ Gutzkow's enthusiasm for Uncle Tom's

¹Gutzkow, "Ein neuer Roman," U. a. H., III, 573.

²Gutzkow, "Die realistischen Erzähler," U. a. H., N.F. II, 270.

³Ibid.

⁴Gutzkow, "Die Manner von Ehedem," U. a. H., D.F. II, 175.

⁵Gutzkow, "Ein neuer Roman," U. a. H., III, 558-76.

⁶Gutzkow, "Die 'realistischen' Erzähler," U. a. H., N.F. II, 270.
Ibid., p. 271.

⁷Gutzkow, "Vom deutschen Parnasz," U. a. H., II, 176.
Gutzkow, "Neue Romane und Novellen," U. a. H., D.F. I, 956.

⁸Gutzkow, "Für die Winterabende," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 128.

⁹Gutzkow, "Romane und Erzählungen," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 447.

Cabin is partially due to the reforming aim of the book,¹ an aim which had inspired Gutzkow in his Young Germany days and which remained with him throughout his life.

The attention devoted to background in Gutzkow's criticisms and reviews of novels naturally varies considerably. In his review of Soll und Haben there are bitter attacks on the ultra-realism of Freytag. In a review of some novels by Philip Galen, Gutzkow commends one for the pleasing result of nature description and condemns another for the less cleverly managed economics situation.²

One of the chief faults of Ludwig's Zwischen Himmel und Erde is the mental and emotional poverty of conditions forming the background.³ In Melchior Meyr's Vier Deutsche Gutzkow warmly commends Meyr's creation of background.⁴ In historical novels such as Alexander Jung's Rosmarin the background was vitally important.⁵ In L. Schücking's Die Pheider Burg there is a fresh, simple description of people and scenes.⁶

Concerning details of fact and of language Gutzkow is very exacting and criticises Freytag severely for announcing that Soll und Haben is based on daily life and then making mistakes in details of that daily life.⁷ The latter author uses one expression "ein Volk Schwäne ..." to which Gutzkow objects as incorrect.⁸ He considers the Jewish "jargon" especially objectionable.⁹ Freytag employs some absurd phrases and writes too tensely.

¹Gutzkow, "Onkel Tom's Hütte," U. a. H., I, 98.

²Gutzkow, "Aesthetische Ideenjagd," U. a. H., N.F. III, 367-68.

³Gutzkow, "Die 'realistischen' Erzähler," U. a. H., N.F. II, 270.

⁴Gutzkow, "Neue Romane und Novellen," U. a. H., D.F. I, 956.

⁵Gutzkow, "Alexander Jung's 'Rosmarin,'" U. a. H., D.F. II, 753-56.

⁶Gutzkow, "Zur Unterhaltung," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 800.

⁷Gutzkow, "Ein neuer Roman," U. a. H., III, 558.

⁸Ibid., p. 575.

⁹Ibid., p. 573.

Gutzkow, "Neuere englische Literatur," U. a. H., D.F. II, 54-56.

Sonst ist der Stil des in einem angreifenden Dreiecktekt geschriebenen Buchs—eine kurzathmige Hast, die dem Leser auf die Länge Wahrhaft Brustschmerzen verursachen musz, zweckmässig kurz, immer treffend und bündig.¹

Gutzkow's discussion of the historical novel offers little basically different from that of the novel in general. The historical novel or any historical episode should be true to the time it portrays.² It should, however, be more than a mere description of the period treated³ and should exhibit a striving for idealism.⁴

In a summary of Gutzkow's views on the novel his emphasis on the necessity of broad, general subject matter is one of the important points. As all through his critical work, so in that on the novel Gutzkow objects vigorously to romanticism of any kind or degree and insists on a realism presented through the medium of idealism, not through mirror-like reproduction. He explains his Nebeneinander scheme as an attempt to make the reader see what all the characters are doing at any given time. Gutzkow objects to the abnormal, immoral, frivolous or cynical and especially if the author appears to be in sympathy with those traits. Characters should be in accord with the atmosphere or background of the novel. An exceedingly "anatomical" analysis of characters is unnecessary but definitely outlined character presentations are advisable. Psychological motivation must be reasonable and there must be an inner or spiritual development. Characters should spring from personal experience and types should not be repeated in successive books. The action should proceed smoothly to an inevitable goal, not be interrupted by irrelevant episodes. No cleft should exist between action and characters or background. There should be dramatic episodes. Factual details should be accurate. The language used should be grammatically correct, the phrases accurate and expressive, the style as a whole clear, vigorous and effortless. It is worth while to note that, though such a criticism as that of Soll und Haben might take up many details, Gutzkow kept reverting to a central thesis, the necessity for an idealizing realism in characters, plot and background. The

¹Ibid., p. 575.

²Ibid.

³Gutzkow, "Die Poesie eine Königin," U. a. H., II, 440.

⁴Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungsliteratur," U. a. H., D.F. II,

same note is found in criticisms of other novels.¹

In his discussion of the drama Gutzkow displays an amount of feeling a little surprising, even for him. In more than one place he vehemently attacks the theatres of his day. In Weimar, München and Vienna there is advance but not in other locations.² The poor music at Leipzig, the deaths of the good actresses at Frankfurt am Main and the opposition of the pietists at Hamburg, Raupach's and Küstner's mistakes at Berlin all are affecting the drama adversely. Gutzkow considers Raupach and Küstner too arbitrary and unprogressive in their ideas and methods and, as Berlin sets the standard for the rest of the country, the situation there is especially serious. There has been such an increase of light plays since 1848. The open air theatres and careless and slipshod catering to a low public taste have been detrimental to actors and play production in every way. A school is needed for the actors who have not had the training they needed.³ They should work on the plays of Goethe, Schiller and Shakespeare, on tragedies, so they would learn what acting really means. In Berlin, at least, it is rapidly becoming a trade.⁴ Pettiness in management and presentation and a frivolous public have discouraged

¹Gutzkow, "Philipp Gaden," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 367-68.
 Gutzkow, "Soll und Haben in Amerika," U. a. H., D.F. II, 935.
 Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungsliteratur," U. a. H., D.F. II, 294. Criticism of Rosmarin by A. Jung.
 Gutzkow, "Für die Winterabende," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 127. Criticism of Heinrich Falk by O. Roquette.

One sentence in the article on Roquette brings out Gutzkow's dislike of unmodified realism: "Wahrlich, der Realismus ist in unserer neuen Literatur zu einem Knecht Ruprecht geworden."

²Gutzkow, "Die Wandlungen des Geschmacks," U. a. H., I, 319-20.

³Ibid., pp. 184-89. "Das Drama und die Bühne des Tages." With a very few exceptions "scheint die deutsche Bühne nahe daran, im eigentlichen Sinne des Worts eine Vergnügungsanstalt zu werden und den Zusammenhang mit den ernstern Strebungen der Nation zu verlieren."

Cf. Ver. Schr., Vol. IV, "Zur Bühne." Page 166 "Aber die äuszeren Lebensbedingungen der Kunst und Literatur können und müssen wahrer und freier werden."

⁴Gutzkow, "Die Rechte der dramatischen Autoren," U. a. H., N.F. III, 751-68.

great dramatists.¹ In one violent indictment Gutzkow attacks everybody and everything connected with the drama in Berlin. Humor has gone, the public still wants non-classical works, Jewish slang is prevalent, plays are valueless, taste corrupted, the dramatic public degenerate, indeed five hundred thousand people are being educated to idiocy by the theatres. There is unprincipled speculation in the management and, in fact, Alles ist Schwindel.² Time did not mellow his views, for a few years later he launched another savage attack, this time in connection with the opera, on plays and play production, on sordidness and would-be aesthetics.

Unsere groszen und immer grösszer werdenden Theaterräume, der planlos bunte Wust auf dem Repertoire unserer sogenannten, Kunstinstitute, das traurige Mischmasch von industrieller Geldmacherei und zuweilen doctrinär ästhetisirenden Zwecken-alles, was wir den Verfall unsers Dramas begleiten und beschleunigen sehen-die Oper, die schlimme Omphale, bäszt, was sie teilweise mit anrichtete selbst in erster Reihe.³

Gutzkow's bitterness over the effect on the drama of the theatre's degeneration is a very striking evidence of his realization of the vital connection between the two. In a review of two plays by Gottfried Flammberg, Gutzkow objects vigorously to Flammberg's idea that the drama does not need the stage. To awaken sympathy and understanding the stage is needed.⁴ He is deeply interested in Shakespeare's plays from the standpoint of manner of composition. While Ben Jonson handed to the actors a finished piece of work, Shakespeare was constantly adapting and changing his plays to fit varying conditions. Thus his drama was alive in a very real sense.⁵

¹Gutzkow, "Die Bühne der Gegenwart," U. a. H., N.F. II, 446-47.

²Gutzkow, "Das Victoria-Theater in Berlin," U. a. H., N.F. III, 399-400.

³Gutzkow, "Musik und Gesang," U. a. H., D.F. I, 576.
"Unsere groszen ..."

⁴Gutzkow, "Dramatische Versuche," U. a. H., D.F. I, 456-516.

⁵Gutzkow, "Shakespeare und die Katheder-Aesthetik," U. a. H., N.F. V, 414-16.

Cf. Gutzkow, Ver. Schr., IV, 87-105. Gutzkow wants to adopt Shakespeare to modern needs.

Even with all his fiery denunciation of recent dramas Gutzkow insists that good plays have been produced since 1840 which are more appropriate to the present time than the classics. The use of the latter as the source of laws binding or limiting dramatic production meets his prompt opposition.¹ He disapproves of judging by certain rigid laws, of employing catchword phrases as a method of pigeon-holing plays.² So strong is his feeling against compulsion that Gutzkow's reason for opposing a prize for the best drama is that some dramatists would feel forced to compete.³ He is willing to admit that there are certain valid principles of the art of the drama but these can be derived from the nature of dramatic material. To formulate a certain dramatic theory and then try consciously to carry it out in the writing of the drama Gutzkow considers an unnatural method of procedure. In a passage that recalls some comments on lyric poetry he urges composing dramas from the *Drang des Stoffes*. He would find the material and write the play without stopping for theories. Kleist was an example of the unfortunate effects of theory and production going hand in hand. His anxiety to bring out aesthetic theories detracts from the vitality of his plays.⁴

Scattered throughout his various reviews are many characterizations of the drama. Unlike a novel it cannot have a specialized audience, it must have universal appeal.⁵ It should inspire and purify, even vie with the pulpit as an instrument of "Cultur."⁶ Generally classicism in its moderation is better fitted for the drama than is romanticism with its extremes. The strict observance of the unities of time and place he does not consider essential but that of action or deed is vital. Such wide divergences from all three as are found in Shakespeare's works Gutzkow

¹Gutzkow, "Die Bühne der Gegenwart," U. a. H., N.F. VI, 446.

²Gutzkow, "Geschichte und Theorie des Dramas," U. a. H., D.F. II, 1013-14.

³Gutzkow, "Tausend Taler für das beste Drama," U. a. H., N.F. V, 158-256.

⁴Gutzkow, "Geschichte und Theorie des Dramas," U. a. H., D.F. II, 1013-14.

⁵Gutzkow, "Dramatische Versuche," U. a. H., D.F. I, 456-516.

⁶Gutzkow, "Die verlorenen Schlachten und die deutsche Bühne," U. a. H., N.F. V, 14-15.

considers very reprehensible. Shakespeare creates pictures rather than drama.¹ In a review of Adolph Gläser's Galileo Galilei Gutzkow stresses the necessity of a clear, compact, quickly moving exposition, of a closely knit action, firm scene structure, smooth, exact diction.² Gutzkow's suggestion that a dramatist work backward from the fifth act³ recalls his scheme for increasing dramatic tension through the climax to the fifth act. That was discussed in Chapter III, section B. He criticises Freytag's Die Journalisten for its too loosely joined action. Fate or the consequences of the action of a play should be stronger than the strongest character. Scribe's play Un Verre d' Eau forfeits interest because Bolingbroke controls every situation.⁴ Exaggeration in any respect is to be avoided.⁵ Gutzkow warns a young writer against the use of the iambus, for the sound of the poetry may, in inexperienced hands, cause the substance to be forgotten.⁶ He pays little attention to comedy as a separate type, though he heartily commends the humor in Die Journalisten.⁷ Spiritual conflicts are hard to manage and care must be taken to make characters vivid.⁸ When passions are so intense as in a tragedy, death or its equivalent is the only solution.⁹ The aim of a tragedy is to present life at its point, not in its breadth, to contract, not to expand, to simplify life's conditions so that they may the sooner become symbols of eternal thought and, free

¹Gutzkow, "Shakespeare Experiments," U. a. H., N.F. II, 655-56.

²Gutzkow, "Dramatische Literatur," U. a. H., D.F. II, 155. A review of Adolf Glaser's Galileo Galilei.

³Gutzkow, "Briefwechsel," letter to Mr. W. A. in Bern; U. a. H., D.F. I, 520.

⁴Gutzkow, "Vom deutschen Parnasz," U. a. H., II, 544.

⁵Gutzkow, "Dramatische Literatur," U. a. H., D.F. II, 155.

⁶Gutzkow, "Ein Lesen=pensum," Review of E. Wichert's Withing von Samland; U. a. H., D.F. II, 234-36.

⁷See footnote 4.

⁸See footnote 5.

⁹Gutzkow, "Der Tod in der Poetik," U. a. H., N.F. III, 672.

from earthly dust, let the rule of God shine through.¹ Any unnatural characters or motivation promptly incur Gutzkow's censure as in Hebbel's plays Judith und Holofernes and Maria Magdalena. This has been discussed in the section on Gutzkow's use of the term "natural."

Gutzkow's attitude toward the historical drama remains that of the 1840-1852 period. One comment on historical works, either novels or plays is interesting because of the relationship attributed to the two. A presentation only of what has happened belongs to the novel but an event considered both as the result of the past and as seed for the future, as affecting more than the life of one individual should be treated in a drama.²

In summing up his treatment of the drama, his close union of drama and production calls for mention. Gutzkow disliked coteries, self-appointed critics, especially those holding the classics in awe. He did not agree to any rigid dramatic laws but believed good plays did meet the following requirements. The unities of time and place are not imperative but that of action is to be observed. Characters should be felt by the author, not just described, should be subordinate to the action, not be above it. The exposition and plot should be carefully managed, the style smooth and easy.

¹Gutzkow, "Shakespeare Experimente," U. a. H., N.F. II, 655-65.

²Gutzkow, "Geschichte und Dichtung," U. a. H., N.F. III, 79-80.

CHAPTER VI

TYPICAL STRUCTURE AND STYLE OF LITERARY CRITICISMS

IN THE UNTERHALTUNGEN

A. Structure

In the description of the Unterhaltungen I mentioned three types of book reviews under which Gutzkow's articles might be classified.¹ The first one, the book notice, is well exemplified by a paragraph of two sentences on Johannes Nordmann's Ein Wiener Bürger. The first sentence gives some idea of the book's subject, the second a judgment on the book.² Even in such a brief comment Gutzkow includes a basic requirement of his with regard to historical works, that they be historically true.

The second type mentioned, a review of a book at greater length, is illustrated by a criticism of Scheffel's Der Trompeter von Säckingen. It begins with the title and author, continues with a résumé of the contents and ends with a rather brief discussion of the merits and demerits of the work. The last sentence contains a sarcastic fling at Immermann and Heine for their ironisirenden Romanzenton.³

The article "Wie sich die Dichter einander lesen," reviewing Karl von Holtei's Jean Paul in Reimen belongs to the third type in which Gutzkow digresses from the consideration of a par-

¹Chap. IV, p. 36.

²Gutzkow, "Neue Romane und Novellen," U. a. H., D.F. I, 214. "Ein Wiener Bürger' (Wien, Wallishauszer'sche Buchhandlung, 1860) ist eine von Johannes Nordmann spannend und interessant erzählte Episode aus dem Wien des 15. Jahrhunderts. Solche auf historische Wahrheit gestützte Darstellungen heißen wir willkommen, sie führen, angenehm belehrend in die Vorzeit und das Leben des Mittelalters ein."

³Gutzkow, "Der Trompeter von Säckingen," U. a. H., III, 144. "Sie ist mit groszem Behagen geschrieben ..."

ticular book to discuss a literary principle or a literary type. This review begins with Gutzkow's exposure of a mistake by Holtei, who had overlooked some verses by Rückert containing an uncomplimentary opinion of Jean Paul Richter. Gutzkow then continues by discussing Jean Paul instead of Holtei's interpretation of Jean Paul's work. The next paragraph is on the source and limitations of lyric poetry and the last one, which is on Holtei's book, has considerable praise as well as blame for Holtei. Generally a larger proportion of the article is devoted to a criticism of the book itself, than in this case. The introductory part is longer than usual in this selection.¹ In a review of Tempelтей's Klytemnestra Gutzkow begins with a remark about Tendenz poetry, continues with a brief characterization of the contemporary, anti-Tendenz authors, of whom Tempelтей is one. Two paragraphs on contemporary literary criteria follow and then comes a detailed discussion of Tempelтей's drama.²

There is some variety of structure in the second and third types of criticism. In both there may be a comment on the author or book, the title and author's name not being mentioned for one or two paragraphs,³ or title, author's name and publisher may appear with the first sentence.⁴ Generally Gutzkow starts with a statement calculated to catch the reader's attention immediately

¹Gutzkow, "Wie sich die Dichter einander lesen," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 160.

"Von Interesse ist es, dabei erwägen zu müssen, ob eine solche Fülle von Geist und Witz im besten Sinne in poetischer Form etwas Zulässiges ist. Im allgemeinen wiegt bei Lyrikern das Gemüthsleben vor."

²Gutzkow, "Tempelтей's Klytemnestra," U. a. H., N.F. I, 575.

"Die Schulen und Gymnasien mögen noch Einiges daneben gelten lassen, die Universität lehrt kaum eine andere Aesthetik als die aus den Alten und jenen Mustern [Shakespeare, Goethe] hergeleitete."

³Ibid.

⁴Gutzkow, "Meisner über Heine," U. a. H., N.F. I, 703.

"Dem Gemuth und der Bescheidenheit eines jungen Dichters macht es alle Ehre, wenn er auf das Grab eines Ältern Blumen streut. (Heinrich Heine, Erinnerungen von Alfred Meisner, Hamburg, Hoffmann & Campe, 1865)."

and bring out one of the main points of his article.¹ Frequently he discusses the author and then the book, generally starting the criticism of the book before he gives a summary of the contents, that is, if he gives such a summary at all.² Almost always the discussion of form such as metre in poetry is at the last of the criticism.³

In the titles as well as in the structure of the reviews there is a certain amount of variety. Location of emphasis in the criticisms is frequently indicated by the title. Generally, though not always, the use of the author's name means an emphasis on the author.⁴ The title may bring out some factor that is not the most important but the most picturesque, as when Gutzkow entitles a description of a general's career by his daughter "Eine Dichterin vor dem Generalstabe."⁵ He is apt to change a title into a more vivid expression as Predigten aus der Gegenwart to Das Wort von der Kanzel.⁶ Very frequently several reviews are placed under a group heading as Für die Winterabende.⁷ In one year, 1859, there were more than twice as many criticisms to which Gutzkow had given a title of his own invention as there were under any other one heading. The group heading was next in frequency, that with author and original title of book came last. Even in titles Gutzkow's dramatising impulse is evident.

¹Gutzkow, "Betty Paoli," U. a. H., N.F. I, 591.

"Von Sappho bis Luise Brachmann haben die Frauen die Gabe der lyrischen Poesie nur zur Enthüllung der Geheimnisse ihres Herzens benutzt."

²Gutzkow, "Die Leute von Seldwyla," U. a. H., N.F. I, 591.

Almost half way through in the article the discussion of the book begins with: "So erzählt in der ersten Geschichte ..."

³Gutzkow, "J. G. Fischer's Gedichte," U. a. H., N.F. I,

224. "Dasz die Sprache höchst gewählt ..."

⁴Gutzkow, "Fanny Lewald," U. a. H., III, 511-13.

⁵Gutzkow, "Eine Dichterin vor dem Generalstabe," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 496.

⁶Gutzkow, "Das Wort von der Kanzel," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 574-76.

⁷Gutzkow, "Für die Winterabende," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 32, 64, 80, 127, 175, 287, 320, 368, 384.

B. Style

This same dramatising impulse or desire to give his thoughts a vivid form is evident in his style. As he was in the earlier periods much more concerned about content than form, so he is still and has the same faults also, lack of clarity, cumbersomeness, exaggeration. There are more awkward, obscure sentences than before and greater bitterness and sarcasm. One striking example of confusion and heaviness is a sentence from an article on theatrical criticism.

Wenn es die Pflicht einer jeden Kritik ist, das Werk oder den Künstler, über den sie spricht, in ihrer Besonderheit, ihrer Darstellungsform und eigenthümlichen Auffassung, soweit es das Wort vermag, zu schildern, gleichsam das Spiel der Rachel, der Ristori in kurzen, scharfen Strichen wieder zu versinnlichen—so sind dieser höchsten aber doch nur gerechten Anforderung gegenüber Worte, wie: 'Die Rachel spielt Phädra ganz als das mythologische Weib, Athalia als das Baalsweib,' sind End=urtheile, wie: 'Frau von Bärndorf vermag, mit Ausnahme der Medea und Lady Macbeth vielleicht, den ganzen Umfang weiblichen Seelen-, Gemüths- und Geisteslebens zu beherrschen,' etwas bedenkliche Phrasen.¹

For emphasis Gutzkow uses short sentences in combination with long ones or in a series as in the article "Faust und kein Ende."² He occasionally leaves sentences incomplete as in the review just mentioned. Sometimes the incomplete sentence is rather long.³ He makes frequent use of rhetorical question and exclamation as in an article "Montalembert und Arndt," in which political oppression is discussed.⁴ Gutzkow uses figures of speech freely and effectively. In a criticism of Holtei's Vagabunden he writes with unusual enthusiasm about the work and

¹Gutzkow, "Theaterkritiken," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 430.

²Gutzkow, "Faust und kein Ende," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 478.
"Doch nicht jede Brücke bewährt sich, ..."

³Ibid., "Daher die grosse Verschiedenheit der Faust=Brücken!" Gutzkow, "Zur Unterhaltung," U. a. H., N.F. II, 591.
"Ein Gewirr, ein Gedränge wie auf dem Jahrmarkt zu Plundersweilern, wo der noch 'jugendliche Goethe mächtig herausgeputzt zu Weimar den Marktschreier gespielt.'"

⁴Gutzkow, "Montalembert und Arndt," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 239.
"Was ist die Historie, wenn ihr verboten wird, Recht zu sprechen? Lieber ein falsches Urtheil von ihr als solche Unterdrückung!"

comments: "Die Wanderlust der Vagabunden ist von ihnen auf die Schreibfinger des Dichters übergegangen; auch sie wandern von Zufall zu Zufall."¹ Metaphors occur more frequently than similes. Contrast is very characteristic of Gutzkow's style. "Des Menschen höchste Kraft ist nicht Gefühl und Schauen, sondern Vernunft und Wissenschaft."²

In attacking anything or any one Gutzkow makes use of various weapons. He is decidedly opposed to a generous use of illustrations and ridicules the illustrations of a calendar by the way in which he describes them.³ In another instance a combination of unexpected factors results in something ridiculous. One good example is from an attack on the Dorfgeschichte.

Diese Schläge der Haue bei der heimlichen Musik des Thals
gelten den Kartoffeln des Holder-Fritz! In der That, das
heißt Beethoven zur Schenkenmusik bei Kirchweih machen!⁴

Gutzkow has a very large vocabulary and was apparently very conscious of the sound and connotation of words. He wrote a short analysis of the sound effects of various combinations of names.⁵ Some reviews are poetically phrased, especially when written about poetry.⁶ However he did not always follow his own rules about avoidance of harsh sounds, particularly of repeated harsh sounds.⁷

In a summing up of the form of Gutzkow's literary criticism the basic structure should be recalled. The introductory remark, the analysis and criticism of the contents and the analysis and

¹Gutzkow, "Zur Unterhaltung," U. a. H., N.F. II, 591.

²Gutzkow, "Bunsen über Gott in der Geschichte," U. a. H., N.F. II, 287.

³Gutzkow, "Illustration und Volksverdummung," U. a. H., N.F. V, 847.

⁴Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungslecture," U. a. H., N.F. III, 95.

⁵Gutzkow, "Die Wahl der Vornamen," U. a. H., N.F. I, 31-33.

⁶Gutzkow, "Neue Gedichte," U. a. H., D.F. I, 55-57.

⁷See p. 94, quotation beginning "wenn es die ..." particularly the words der Rachel, der Ristori, scharfen Strichen.

criticism of the style may be contracted to a short paragraph or expanded by discussion of author or literary topic. However the essential pattern remains. The style is at times careless, heavy and obscure, more frequently now than in the earlier periods. The attacks are more violent. Gutzkow however expresses himself with force, dramatic intensity and in a decidedly varied fashion. He makes full use of contrast, rhetorical questions, direct address, figures of speech, connotation of words. Gutzkow can still come very close to poetry.

C. Critical Estimates of Nineteenth Century Authors

To illustrate Gutzkow's criticisms, I am summarizing his opinion of certain authors both foreign and German. The authors chosen have been selected on the basis of the interest and variety of the criticisms and the contribution these make to a knowledge of Gutzkow as a critic. The résumés are sometime drawn from comments in articles not written primarily about the subject of the résumé. The German authors are here listed in alphabetical order, then there follow the foreign authors by countries. In the case of Byron and Shelley it seems best to retain Gutzkow's arrangement.

B. Auerbach—He has neither creative imagination nor formative power. The realism is false, prettified and leaves nothing to the imagination. It is bad, aesthetically, to deceive the reader about a character. There are some characters and situations very finely drawn but a Dorfnovelle is monotonous. In Edelweisz the style is very good and there are many fine observations.¹

A. von Droste-Hülshoff—She shows richness of perception and sureness and ease in handling material.²

Theodor Fontane—Ein Sommer in London is a book "realen Inhalts." The descriptions are very well done, the tone is cheer-

¹Gutzkow, "Die 'realistischen' Erzähler," U. a. H., N.F. II, 272, "Nach Jeremias Gotthelf's ..."
Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungsliteratur," U. a. H., D.F. II, 135-37.

²Gutzkow, "Dichter und ihre Deuter," U. a. H., II, 304.
"Luise von Bornstedt stammt aus ..."

ful and attractive. It is however not a really significant work.¹

G. Freytag—Gutzkow objects to the cynical blase type in Freytag's works. It is like Freytag himself, who seems weary emotionally. Soll und Haben has no central idea, no development of women characters, no adequate motivation of characters. There are disconnected episodes and the background and characters clash. The action is not steady, there are very few dramatic scenes and no real wit. The style leaves the reader feeling breathless. There are some poor figures of speech. Some descriptions are good. Die Journalisten has been very successful but the structure is too loose and the hero is more important than the action, a mistake. In spite of all these strictures Gutzkow grants that "er [Freytag] besitzt Weltschliff, Gewandtheit der Form, Beobachtungsgabe ..."²

E. Geibel—Brunhild is too modern and cultured. Its smooth and polished verses are better fitted for the Tasso period than the Nibelungen. Geibel's poems need content, they have fine form. He uses contrast effectively and the poems are charming. They are read mostly by sentimental women.³

J. Gotthelf—Gotthelf shows a penetrating understanding of the basic elements of education and a child's nature. So much roughness and crudeness cling to Gotthelf that it harms the favorable impression created by his ability and sincerity.⁴

Grabbe—There is romantic nonsense in Grabbe's work. He is a Kraftgenie, trying by art to attain divine madness.⁵

¹Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungslectüre," U. a. H., III, 207.

²Gutzkow, "Ein neuer Roman," U. a. H., III, 558-61, 572-77.
Gutzkow, "Vom deutschen Parnasz," U. a. H., I, 544.

³Gutzkow, "Dramatisirungen der Nibelungen," U. a. H., N.F. II, 463-65.
Gutzkow, "Rudolph Gottschall," U. a. H., N.F. III, 271;
"Schon von dem Publikum ..."
Gutzkow, "Dichter," U. a. H., D.F. II, 675; "In Erinnerungen an ..."

⁴Gutzkow, "Das Leben der Schule im Roman," U. a. H., D.F. I, 554.

⁵Gutzkow, "Dichter," U. a. H., D.F. II, 674.
Gutzkow, "Ueber Poesie und Poetenthum," U. a. H., I, 491.

F. Grillparzer—Gutzkow makes an interesting comment on Grillparzer in connection with material used by Grillparzer and another author, "Den nämlichen Stoff, freilich ganz anders, tiefer und gemüthvoll gefasst hat Grillparzer für seinen treuen Diener gewählt."¹

H. Grimm—In the biography of Michael Angelo are splendid descriptions but the narrative is not as good. Grimm writes easily and with spirit. There are new points of view, occasionally too venturesome. As a poet he lacks warmth and formative ability and is too vague but has fine spirit. Current life does not interest him.²

F. Hebbel—Hebbel is one of the greatest authors of his time but he dwells far too much on the weakness, evil and depravity of humanity. He has a profound knowledge of the most hidden human motives but too often seems to prefer the twisted or perverted motives as in Judith. Hebbel has great formative ability. He can pick out the essential factors of a subject and develop them without a break. In Gyges und sein Ring his theme and background clash and there is some concession to the theatrical bravado of Vienna. Hebbel generally goes his own way with greatness of spirit his law. In his poetry, thought, imagination and heart are ever present but they do not balance. There is sometimes the self-conscious theoretical and polemical, and the form is hard. At their best his poems have psychological truth, real feeling, plastic beauty and are original and fresh. Of Mutter und Kind Gutzkow writes, "Ein edles Masz, eine reine, harmonische Schönheit flutet sanft und innig uns anklingend vom Beginn zum Schlusse des Epos."³

¹Gutzkow, "Ein ungarischer Dichter," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 286. "Den nämlichen Stoff ..."

²Gutzkow, "Zwei 'Essayisten,'" U. a. H., N.F. IV, 334-36. Gutzkow, "Die deutsche Poesie im philologischen Stadium," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 767-68.

Gutzkow, "Tempeltey's 'Blytemnästra,'" U. a. H., N.F. I, 575.

³Gutzkow, "vom deutschen Parnasz," U. a. H., I, 544; "Er wühlt sich zu unruhig in die dämonische Menschenseele ein."

Gutzkow, "Friedrich Hebbel," U. a. H., N.F. I, 189.

Gutzkow, "Rudolph Gottschall," U. a. H., N.F. III, 271-73.

Gutzkow, "F. Hebbel's Gedichte," U. a. H., N.F. III, 333-37. Gutzkow, "Dramatisirungen der Nibelungen," U. a. H.,

H. Heine—Gutzkow does not want to grant any nobility or greatness of character to Heine. He speaks of "seine träge Schläffheit für alles Das, was über die Form hinausging." Thought is not evident in his poems. He uses folk-song fragments and even in the Buch der Lieder there is much that is artificial, far-fetched or that reproduces the romanticists and Goethe. Heine's artificial bizarreness, his contrast of romantic poetry and pure prose can be managed by him but not by others. Since Gutzkow maintains that content is so much more important than form, it seems inconsistent to place Heine in the first rank of poets. It is probably one of other instances of Gutzkow's judging with some justice in spite of himself.¹

P. Heyse—Gutzkow considers Heyse's ability regarding form like Platen's but wishes there were more living content. There is smoothness and roundness of form and a rare feeling for charm in his stories. The hardest characters are smooth, the most painful errors and false conditions end in harmony. Gutzkow obviously disapproves of Heyse's management of plot and characters. Heyse belongs to the Tieck school without the Tieck irony. He is also one of the young sophisticated poets but Gutzkow hopes for far more from him than from others.²

Holtei—The presentation of characters is very effective. The characters live. Holtei has a very keen sense of humor but sometimes the characters are revolting. He is very tolerant toward evil. Gutzkow is not as severe as he generally is in the case of evil characters, though he condemns some of Holtei's

N.F. II, 463-65.

Gutzkow, "Friedrich Hebbel," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 559-61.

- ¹Gutzkow, "Der Trompeter von Säckingen," U. a. H.,
 III, 144
 Gutzkow, "Lyrische Poesie," U. a. H., III, 351-53.
 Gutzkow, "Meiszner über Heine," U. a. H., N.F. I, 703-05.
 Gutzkow, "Wahrnehmungen," U. a. H., N.F. I, 368.
 Gutzkow, "Briefwechsel," U. a. H., D.F. I, 20.
 Gutzkow, "Sänger auch Sängerinnen," U. a. H., N.F. II,
 350-55.
 Gutzkow, "Die deutsche Poesie im philologischen Stadium,"
 II, 767-69.

²Gutzkow, "Tempelhey's 'Klytemnästra,'" U. a. H., N.F. I,
 575-77.
 Gutzkow, "Paul Heyse," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 286-88.

work.¹

K. Immermann—Gutzkow declares Immermann, "ist der potenzierte und kräftigere Tieck." Another time Gutzkow speaks of Immermann's "ironisirender Romanzenton."²

G. Keller—Keller gains through popularity of Dorfgeschichte. He observes very acutely, paints vivid, poetical and picturesque scenes from village life. With a very few words he can produce plastic and dramatic effects. He loses a very great deal when leaving Swiss life. He is arrogant, self satisfied, can even be coquettish with his ineffective witticisms. He does not have any Ueberzeugung, any exaltation, any moving impulse of the heart. "Und so schlendert der Autor in einer gewissen menschenfeindlichen Selbstzufriedenheit hin, die uns um die Wirkungen eines grossen Talents bringen wird." However Gutzkow admits, "Von Gottfried Keller kann nie etwas Geringes kommen."³

Kleist—Prinz von Homburg is repellant to the heart, affords no food for the imagination, no stimulus to the mind. However there is in the play an artful poetry that makes one forget that the play is so false. In another item Gutzkow says he respects Kleist but does not want to exalt him. Kleist's aesthetic theories are overpowering his creativeness.⁴

¹Gutzkow, "Unterhaltungsliteratur," U. a. H., D.F. II, 75; "Seinen Holtei macht er ..."
Gutzkow, "Zur Unterhaltung," U. a. H., N.F. II, 591-675.
Gutzkow, "Zur Unterhaltung," U. a. H., N.F. V, 336;
"In dem neuen Roman: 'Die Eselsfresser,'" U. a. H., N.F. IV, 384.
Gutzkow, "Wie sich die Dichter einander lesen," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 159-60.

²Gutzkow, "Nur Schiller und Goethe?" U. a. H., N.F. V, 621-25, 638-40.
Gutzkow, "Der Trompeter von Sackingen," U. a. H., III, 144.

³Gutzkow, "Die Leute von Seldwyla," U. a. H., N.F. I, 591.
Gutzkow, "Lyrische Poesieen," U. a. H., N.F. III, 478-81.

⁴Gutzkow. "Ueber Poesie u. Poetenthem," U. a. H., I, 487-92.
Gutzkow, "Nur Schiller und Goethe?" U. a. H., N.F. V, 621-25, 638-40.
Gutzkow, "Geschichte und Theorie des Dramas," U. a. H., D.F. II, 1013-14.

Otto Ludwig—Ludwig lacks creative imagination. He can picture daily life freshly and vividly but uses far too many minute details in his stories. The plot of Zwischen Himmel und Erde amounts to very little, "die Erfindung selbst kränkt an Unmöglichkeiten." There is too much metaphysics. The theme and characters do not fit into the background. Ludwig can analyze man's mind and emotions but he is too limited by his realism.¹

Wilhelm Müller—Gutzkow calls him one of the finest poets of his time but says that he wrote too much and his political poems now lack interest. His best poetry is pre-eminently singable, like Eichendorff's. Many of his poems attain the full effect only when sung, "Es weht ein frischer Lufthauch durch alle Salten, ..." ²

Theodor Mundt—Gutzkow attributes Mundt's indifference to Young Germany before 1835 to his predominant interest in aesthetica. Mundt was inclined toward self-mockery, had a bold and enterprising imagination, but was timid and shy. After 1835 he attacked Young Germany to prove he did not belong to the group. There is fine material in "Kunst der deutschen Prosa." He has attempted more than he can do, has become embittered, cynical. The "biographischer Roman" is a result of these moods. Even in thus giving up high aesthetic requirements he still maintains a certain thoroughness. His cleverness has grown. Travel sketches are often too profuse but have striking and sometimes considerable irony.³

Rückert—No one can do more with oriental poetry than Rückert did. Rückert can create poetry beautiful in form but has not accomplished anything especially significant or enduring along that line. By his oriental poetry Rückert started all this dubious poetry which is neither translation nor original work. Gutzkow

¹Gutzkow, "Die 'realistischen' Erzähler," U. a. H., N.F. II, 270-73.
Gutzkow, "Verirrungen der Dorfgeschichte," U. a. H., N.F. III, 93.

²Gutzkow, "Die deutsche Poesie im philologischen Stadium," U. a. H., II, 767-68.
Gutzkow, "Wilhelm Müller," U. a. H., N.F. III, 528.

³Gutzkow, "Theodor Mundt," U. a. H., D.F. I, 1000.

consistently opposes oriental influence, considering it unhealthy.¹

Arthur Schopenhauer—Gutzkow dislikes intensely Schopenhauer's very pessimistic views. He wants particularly to keep them from influencing the youth. He recognizes Schopenhauer's genius but is repelled by the utterly cold egoism, the attacks on the moral world order. Schopenhauer's life and works are not in agreement.²

Theodor Storm—Gutzkow reviews "Ein grünes Blatt" and "Angelika." Storm describes nature charmingly and reminds one of Stifter. One character is too vaguely defined and "Ein grünes Blatt" has an unsatisfactory conclusion. "Angelika" is clearer and much closer to real life. "Die Schreibart des Verfassers ist von Musik erfüllt und erinnert fast zu sehr an Klang und Reim."³

L. Uhland—Uhland composed his ballads by building a framework and letting the reader complete what the author had suggested. Gutzkow says that whenever any one thinks of Uhland, he thinks of his own youth and what Uhland wrote then. Uhland wrote a great deal during his initial period and the decrease later cannot be attributed to lack of poetical feeling. The German people will ever cherish his beautiful nature poetry, written as though it were always Sunday.⁴

Friedrich Vischer—Gutzkow makes two interesting comments on Vischer, "Die Vischer'sche Aesthetik macht zur praktischen Kunstregel die Arabeske." He adds that even stupid people could employ the Arabeske poetically. Gutzkow considers D. Strausz

¹Gutzkow, "Shakespeare als 'gelernter Metzger,'" U. a. H., N.F. III, 463-65.

Gutzkow, "Die Zungen der Völker," U. a. H., N.F. III, 494-96.

²Gutzkow, "Arthur Schopenhauer's Lehre und Leben," U. a. H., D.F. II, 252-55.

Gutzkow, "Arthur Schopenhauer's Testament," U. a. H., N.F. V, 879-81.

³Gutzkow, "Theodor Storm," U. a. H., D.F. II, 16.

⁴Gutzkow, "Friedrich Hebbel's Gedichte," U. a. H., N.F. III, 333.
Gutzkow, "Ludwig Uhland," U. a. H., D.F. II, 960.

and Vischer worthy to be ranked with Lessing and Kant.¹

Wagner—Gutzkow objects to Wagner's placing music above literature, above all arts: "Er hat allen genommen, um desto mehr der Musik zu geben." Wagner's music is dialectical: "Ebenso spricht und schreibt er immer mit bewunderungswürdiger aber resultatloser Rhetorik." Wagner's music arouses the senses, excites them but it does not satisfy heart or mind. The Greeks believed there was music that destroyed. It is fortunate for Wagner that he lives now. There are beautiful passages in his work but there is poison in it. It is from the orient.²

American.--Washington Irving—Gutzkow praises Irving for his humor, his fresh presentation of material, his finely drawn characters. There is none of the ultra sentimental American romanticism. "Die Kirche, an die seine Darstellungen anknüpfen, hat keine numerirten Betstühle. Diese Kirche ist das menschliche Herz."³

H. B. Stowe—Gutzkow approves heartily of the Tendenz in Uncle Tom's Cabin. There are splendid characterizations, except of business men whom she does not know. The situations arouse feeling, there is abounding life. The plot connection is poor and so much slave jargon unnecessary, "Indessen bei so viel Leben und Wirklichkeit geht das Derbe leicht und gefällig mit."⁴

English.--Lord Byron and Percy Shelley—Shelley was less gifted than Byron but was not just a follower. Byron acted from sudden stormy passion, Shelley from considered thought, restlessness and melancholy. Both were unjustly treated but their arrogance and utter disregard of any opposition made their fate inevitable and justified. Shelley had wealth and originality of thought; depth and harmony of feeling; a noble heart, yearning for an ideal

¹ Gutzkow, "Dichter," U. a. H., D.F. II, 674-76.
Gutzkow, "Das Gegenüber des Regenten," U. a. H., N.F. IV,

45-47.

² Gutzkow, "Wolfram von Eschenbach," U. a. H., N.F. III,
Gutzkow, "Franz Liszt," U. a. H., N.F. III, 140.
Gutzkow, "Richard Wagner'sche Musik," U. a. H., I,

272.

126-29.

³ Gutzkow, "Eine Tischzierde," U. a. H., N.F. I, 272.
Gutzkow, "Onkel Tom's Hütte," U. a. H., I, 97-100.

future humanity. Shelley does not yet belong among the great poets, "bei ihm ist das Meiste in der Blüte und ohne rechte Frucht geblieben, ..." ¹

Thomas Carlyle—Carlyle unites philosophical depth with poetical flights. He can see the charlatan in Napoleon but also the truthful realist. Carlyle's French revolution is based on correct factual material and gives splendid pictures. There are fine scenes in his work on Frederick the Great but there are many, many mistakes. Carlyle hops from one point to another. History should not be written that way. "Es ist etwa die Art, wie wenn Heinrich Heine plötzlich hätte solid werden und über den Peloponnesischen Krieg schreiben wollen." ²

French.—Dumas fils—Gutzkow objects strenuously to the portrayal of an immoral woman just as if she were living a moral life. Gutzkow ridicules the inference of heroism when the heroine returns to Paris. To believe one can make unreal situations real by unvarying attention to minute external details is really naïve and childish. ³

V. Hugo—Les Misérables as a social novel is twenty years too late. The philosophical ideas are worthless. The novel has no unity and is not carefully developed. Individual sections are finely composed; there are romantic episodes and poetical ones but there is no focal point in the book. Hugo has tried to satisfy all the political parties. A Catholic state cannot be a progressive one. Gutzkow admits that Victor Hugo "ist im Besitz seiner Sprache wie keiner vor ihm" but Hugo has not studied philosophy enough to recognize truth. ⁴

The criticisms bring out the same basic tenets that are found through all Gutzkow's work. He believes in the greatness

¹Gutzkow, "Percy Shelley," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 47.
"Ein Herz, das so edel fühlte, ..."

²Gutzkow, "Zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 768; "Während der englische Essay ..." Ibid., pp. 95-97, 735-37.

³Gutzkow, "Die Kamelien-Dame," U. a. H., I, 80-83.

⁴Gutzkow, "Victor Hugo's Les Misérables," U. a. H., D.F. II, 659.
"Von dem allen hat Victor Hugo ..."

of literature, in high standards for authors, in the closeness of literature to life, in the avoidance of the abnormal or morbid, in the necessity of a naturalness without romanticism or slavish realism. The emphasis on reform of public life is not as evident as before but the character of the magazine and changes in that public life probably account for the decreased emphasis in large measure. It may be due also to a minor extent to the financial worries which occupied so much time and energy. The reforming tendency is, however, still very obvious.

CHAPTER VII

THE PERIOD 1862-1878

A. General Criteria

During the years from 1862 to 1878 Gutzkow was harassed by illness, physical and mental, and by pressing financial worries. In spite of that he kept on writing novels, stories, articles of various kinds. He reprinted material from the Unterhaltungen in In bunter Reihe and Vom Baume der Erkenntnis. The new critical material is to be found chiefly in Dionysius Longinus.

There is in Dionysius Longinus a renewed affirmation of Gutzkow's belief in the high position of literature, in naturalness, in idealism. It is the bitterest of Gutzkow's books and is written in answer to F. Hebbel, E. Kuh and A. Stern. Kuh's biography of Hebbel had attacked Gutzkow viciously, frequently through quotations from Hebbel. A. Stern wrote a review of the biography for the Allgemeine Zeitung and praised it lavishly. Gutzkow attacks savagely in return, answering from both the personal and the literary view point. He begins by accusing Ebers in his Homo Sum of aesthetic bombast,¹ such as could be found in Freytag's Ahnen, Auerbach's Dorfgeschichten and Charlotte Birchpfeiffer's works.² While paying due tribute to the great Greek classics, to Shakespeare, Goethe and Schiller, he insists this is a new age, not bound by the stilted literature of the past. "Unser Zeitgeist kann und will diese Muster nicht mehr nachahmen."³ The present is natural. Even in the most violent part of Gutzkow's Young Germany period there is no more energetic attack on the rule of the preceding age than at this time. He takes advantage of this occasion to defend the Young Germany movement and to insist that Laube and he were not to be confused.

¹Gutzkow, Dionysius Longinus. Oder: Ueber den Ästhetischen Schwulst in der neuern deutschen Literatur (Stuttgart, 1878), p. 1. Hereafter referred to as D. Long.

²Ibid., p. 6.

³Ibid., p. 15.

Shakespeare is no impeccable model.¹ Gutzkow objects also to trades people trying to write books without natural aptitude or sufficient training.² In other words literature is to be regarded with due reverence and is not to be practiced lightly. One very serious accusation against Hebbel was, according to Gutzkow, his utter lack of any desire to bring literature into closer contact with German life at that time.³ Aeschylus, Sophocles and Shakespeare were concerned about their age.

Was diese auch geschrieben, es verrieth immer, dass sie ihre Zeitgenossen an jenem Webstuhl sitzen sahen, wo man sowol den Uebermuth der Einen zu strafen hat wie die Sorglosigkeit der Andern zu warnen. Sie hatten alle 'Tendenz.'⁴

Hebbel is attacked fiercely for his morbidness. "Sein Secirtisch ist sein ganzes Leben,"⁵ later, "Hebbel blieb aber beim instinctiven, beim Gelüsten, Anormalen stehen."⁶

B. Specific Criteria

Gutzkow is so absorbed in attacking aesthetic bombast and explaining in detail what he thinks of various deplorable authors that there is not much to be learned in this work about specific kinds of literature. He defines Dichten

'Dichten' heisst nicht das Widersinnige, durch Natur und Geschichte Getrennte mit Gewalt zusammenleimen, die Bindekraft aus einer spitzfindigen, dem Stoff nur angekränkelten Dialektik entnehmen und sozusagen zierliche Tafelaufsätze für Naturwüchsigkeiten ausgeben, sondern eine der Phantasie aufgegangene Anschauung mit dem Colorit der Empfindung und Ergriffenheit des Gemüths glaubhaft durchführen.⁷

Gutzkow emphasizes spontaneous, natural feeling as needful for

¹Ibid., p. 21. "Der bühnenkundige talentvolle Autor sah dem grossen Britten ..."

²Ibid., p. 22. "Euch fehlen zur Theil nahme am Literaturleben alle ersten Prinzipien!"

³Ibid., p. 37. "Der Mangel an Hingebung für die grossen Fragen ..."

⁴Ibid., p. 70.

⁵Ibid., p. 65.

⁶Ibid., p. 79.

⁷Ibid., p. 83.

poetry¹ and for really great works a certain universality.² He defends prose as against poetry.³

Not only does Gutzkow show bitterness in his discussions of poetry, but he also exhibits the same feeling with reference to the stage. It is suffering from the effects of bombastic work. The drama needs inspired writing, not brooding over questions as Hebbel did.⁴ A few years before Dionysius appeared, Gutzkow published some Novellen, in the preface of which he defined the Novelle. To him it is

eine Dichtungsform, wo nicht nur die Art der Behandlung lediglich vom Charakter des zufällig gefundenen Stoffs abhängt, sondern auch überall der Stoff da gegeben vorliegt, wo sich eine Anekdote natürlich anlegt, entwickelt, steigert und löst.⁵

Literary critics, Gutzkow charges, are degrading literature by writing advertisements for books instead of criticisms.⁶ They do not know what poetry really is. He sets up at least one standard for critics: "Ich verrichte zuweilen meine Andacht ... aber so in der Extase leben, ... das ist die Weise des studirten Kritikers nicht."

C. Conclusion

It is interesting to observe in Dionysius Longinus how, in spite of the distortion of judgment due to half insane wrath and bitterness, Gutzkow still adheres to certain ideas. Literature should be very close to life but should also exalt life. Morbidity and unnaturalness have no place in great literature.

¹Ibid., p. 105. "Das Poetische anzustreben, ist Thorheit. Es musz sich von selbst ergeben, ..."

²Ibid., p. 39. "Seine Menschen, selbst Goethe's realistische Gestalten ..."

³Ibid., p. 106. "Der Lyriker benutzt die Sprache, ..."

⁴Ibid., p. 71. "Seinen Tagebuch=Notizen zufolge haben bei seinem Schaffen ..."

⁵Gutzkow, Durch Nacht zum Licht, Lebensbilder, I (Stuttgart, 1869), 2 in Preface.

⁶D. Long., p. 57. "Es wird eine Zeit kommen, ..."

The really great authors feel deeply and sincerely, express themselves simply and directly, that is, with no bombast. Enraged as he is with Hebbel, Gutzkow is too conscientious artistically to deny beauty and genuine poetic effects to some of Hebbel's poems.¹ The violence of his discussion of Heine doubtless is attributable largely to personal animosity but the basic charge of artificiality is one he had consistently made against Heine. Other judgments may be estimated as likewise fundamentally unchanged but thrown into ghastly, terrible relief by the flame of Gutzkow's wrath.

¹Ibid., p. 54. "Hebbel ... dessen Gedichte später ... mit einigen, in Anthologien gekommenen schönen Ausnahmen keinen Erfolg hatten, ..."

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

A. Summary

Throughout his whole life Gutzkow was constantly driven by his passion for reform in government, in society, in literature and art.¹ During the early thirties literature and art were slightly obscured by political and social elements but by 1835 these were being subordinated to literature.² He was indeed obsessed by the vision of a literature forming an integral part of a nation's life and leading that nation to ever higher goals. Literature and life could be brought together through the medium of a realistic or better, natural interpretation of life by literature. They could be exalted only through an idealism, free from sentimentalism, free from outworn prejudices, unmarred by any trace of grossness, abnormality or morbidity.

To these general requirements were added specific ones for poetry, Novelle, novel, drama and literary criticism. Poetry should be the product of real imagination, of deep and sincere emotions, expressed in such a way as to make them typical of every individual and not of the author alone. In the Novelle, novel and drama the plot should move along smoothly, logically and with action sufficient to sustain the reader's interest. The characters should be developed and not merely described. The language should be correct and the style fitted to the content of the

¹E. Galley, Der religiöse Liberalismus in der deutschen Literatur von 1830 bis 1850 (Rostock, 1934), p. 52.

"Bei ihm [Gutzkow] steht nicht das Glückstreben im Mittelpunkt seines Denkens, sondern er vertritt eine Ethik, der jede ästhetische Begründung fehlt. ... Er sagt im vollen Gegensatz zu den andern Jungdeutschen: 'Unsere irdische Bestimmung ist, gut, nicht glücklich zu sein' ... Die Ethik steht für ihn, als wichtigstes Prinzip der Lebensführung des Menschen, im Mittelpunkt seines Interesses."

²H. Houben, Jungdeutscher Sturm und Drang (Leipzig, 1911), p. 106. "Und dasz seine Sympathien mehr dem Dichter als dem Politiker zuneigten, ..."

specific work. The innovation in the treatment of the novel was the Nebeneinander theory, according to which all the characters were presented at each stage of the novel. The innovation in the discussion of the drama was the advocacy of the catastrophe in the fifth act as the point of highest interest, instead of the climax in the third act. Literary criticism should be fearless, analyzing both the good and bad aspects of any book reviewed and should be based on deep interest in human personality, real knowledge of literature and a varied and rich experience in life.

B. Gutzkow and His Public

Any discussion of Gutzkow's practice of literary criticism as judged by eminent contemporary authors seems unnecessary in view of Freiburg-Rüter's careful treatment of that subject.¹ However Gutzkow's relation to his readers and their judgment of him do need some further explanation. In the Anregungen, the section containing so many of the book reviews, there are occasionally letters from correspondents, as for instance a woman's opinion of Bogumil Goltz.² Almost always there are brief answers to correspondents, giving the initials only of the letter. Frequently these answers are rejections or acceptances of manuscripts, in the former case a reason being given for the rejection. Sometimes there is a brief comment on some literary question as, for example, the denial of the authenticity of some poetry by Heine.³ The references to the Schiller Foundation (Stiftung) and acknowledgments of cash received for it are numerous. The correspondents wrote not only from various sections of Germany but from Holland, Switzerland, France, England and the United States of America. Evidently Gutzkow's requests in his editorials for contributions were answered liberally. He wrote very persuasively in his editorials, as one would write who believed in the steadfast friendship of his readers.⁴ He made it plain that he wanted

¹F.-Rüter, op. cit., pp. 166-88. Abschnitt: Die Wirkung der Kritik (Gutzkow im Urteil der Zeitgenossen).

²Gutzkow, "Bogumil Goltz und die Frauen, U. a. H., N.F. IV, 270-72.

³Gutzkow, "Briefwechsel," U. a. H., D.F. I, 20.

⁴Cf. statement by F.-Rüter with reference to Gutzkow about 1840. Page 63: "Gutzkow lebt aus engster Fühlung mit dem Publikum."

an educated, thoughtful audience, that he did not intend to educate his readers.¹ That he was successful in gaining support is evident from the number of his subscribers² and from the fact that the magazine continued as long as it did in the face of vicious personal attacks on Gutzkow and the competition of illustrated magazines. Gutzkow had been accused of copying Dickens' Household Words and indignantly rejected the accusation.³ The English magazine did not have anywhere near the wealth or variety of content to be found in the German and even Dickens' articles scarcely added anything to that author's reputation. The best summary of what Gutzkow meant to his readers is found in a comment by Houben.

Als Autor der 'Ritter vom Geiste,' durch die er seine scharfsinnige und Übersichtliche Kenntnis deutscher Zustände so glänzend bewies, und als Herausgeber der 'Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd' gewöhnte er sich dann mehr und mehr daran, zu allen wichtigen Ereignissen in Kunst und Leben, Politik und Wissenschaft Stellung zu nehmen, und man kann wohl sagen, dass gerade diese seine überaus umfangreiche journalistische Tätigkeit geradezu eine fast unbewusste Reflexbewegung auf alle Regungen des Zeitgeistes gewesen ist.⁴

C. Gutzkow's Value for the Present Time

In spite of the obvious and striking defects which he ex-

¹Gutzkow, "An unsere Leser," U. a. H., N.F. IV, 1-4.

²Werke, Houben, Vol. I, Preface p. 99. Houben states that there were 5,000 subscribers, a considerable number for that time. Feodor Wehl, Das junge Deutschland (Hamburg, 1886), p. 244. In a letter July 3, 1853 to Wehl Gutzkow asserted he had about 5,000 subscribers.

Karl Frenzel, "Karl Gutzkow ein Charakterbild," Illustrierte deutsche Monatshefte (1879), p. 24. Frenzel noted that the Unterhaltungen was the first weekly for large circles of cultured people.

³Gutzkow, "Der häusliche Herd," U. a. H., I, 223-24.

⁴Werke, Houben, Vol. VIII, Preface p. 7.
E. Metis, Karl Gutzkow als Dramatiker (Stuttgart, 1915), p. 3. Metis criticises Gutzkow rather severely but admits that the latter's contribution to literature is a considerable one and adds he "stellt seine Zeit am klärsten und am vielseitigsten dar."
Cf. J. Dresch, Le roman social en Allemagne (Paris: F. Alcan, 1913), pp. 46-47. "Gutzkow était alors arrivé au point culminant de sa longue carrière d'écrivain ... Une revue qu'il donnait alors et qui eut pendant dix années un très grand succès, les Entretiens au foyer domestique, indique par son titre même dans quelle disposition d'esprit il avait entrepris la répendre."

K. Gutzkow's Meisterdramen, ed. by Prof. Doktor Eugen

hibits in his literary criticism Gutzkow deserves more consideration than he has received for his work. His value for the present is twofold. In one of the preceding chapters¹ there are listed literary judgments by Gutzkow. Many show the mental keenness, the sensitiveness to beauty of content and form, the almost uncanny intuitive insight, the fine idealism, the fearlessness of judgment and the pungent, dramatic expression of Gutzkow at his best. Much still remains to be done to put into usable form the information contained in Gutzkow's work, particularly the Unterhaltungen, about authors, books and the literary life of the reading public.

That there should be a union of literature, of art and life is a thesis enthusiastically championed by twentieth century authors as well as by Gutzkow.² He wanted not only great museums of art, not only inexpensive copies of great pictures but such understanding and skill that objects of daily use should afford artistic satisfaction. Deeply appreciative of music he tried in his magazine to interpret it for those who had no technical knowledge of it.

Gutzkow was deeply interested in science, wanted scientific accomplishments better known but objected strongly to adorning scientific articles. He refused to accept a purely mechanistic interpretation of the universe, though he admitted he could not prove his belief in immortality. He insisted too that both science and industry are not to be considered apart from social welfare. In articles on education he urged constantly that the educational system be studied and fitted to the individual in order to produce sane, mentally and emotionally balanced individuals. A comment of his on a vital social question is especially interesting now. Only when the Jew ceases to think of himself as a being apart, only when he becomes a unit of his community will that

Wolff (Berlin, 1902), Preface p. xv. "Immer prägt Gutzkow den modernen Geist seiner Zeit aus. Wie ihre Ideale verkörpert er ihre Schwächen. So ist ihm ein bedeutender Einfluss auf sie nicht abzusprechen."

¹Chap. VI, p. 91.

²R. Lothar, Das deutsche Drama der Gegenwart (München und Leipzig, 1905), p. 3.

"Was wir Geschmack nennen, ist nur der Gradmesser für die Zusammengehörigkeit der Kunst mit dem Leben."

racial problem be solved. There are two sentences which, although written before the Unterhaltungen, sum up for both earlier and later periods Gutzkow's opinion of the relationship of the state and the individual.

Der Mensch des 19 Jahrhunderts ist mehr als jeder andere das Product der Umstände und seines Bildungsganges. Das Allgemeine hat die Herrschaft über das Individuum, und wol nur denen, die sich vom Allgemeinen als Dichter oder Künstler emancipiren, möchte es möglich sein, sich auf der Landkarte des Lebens zu zeichnen.¹

Although Karl Gutzkow never attained what he really desired in literature, he did make a very significant contribution to contemporary literary life and many of his criticisms are valuable intrinsically as well as for the light they shed on people and conditions at that time. His view point is often a surprisingly modern one.

¹Gutzkow, Aus der Zeit und dem Leben (Leipzig, 1844), p. 404.

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